

Quarterly of the California Historical Society



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THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Edward Stanford

1851 - age 27.

THE CALIFORNIA LETTERS OF EDWARD HOTCHKISS

INTRODUCTION

IN April, 1850, Edward Hotchkiss, of New Haven, Connecticut, landed in San Francisco, after a tedious ocean voyage, broken by a still more tedious delay of several weeks in Panama while waiting for a steamer to take him, with his five hundred fellow-passengers, to the land of gold. It was not as a gold-seeker that he came so far, but as a junior member of an old commercial firm whose ships traded in the West Indies. He came to investigate the prospects for profitable trade in supplying the needs of the vast numbers of fortune hunters flocking to this new land.

Mr. Hotchkiss' thirty-five letters to his mother, Mrs. E. A. Hotchkiss, contain the story of his voyage to California and of his round-the-world return, but their especial interest today is in their record of the seventeen months he spent in San Francisco and Sacramento. They are remarkably informative in respect to the general conditions which he encountered, and because of this they are a valuable addition to the historical data of those stirring times. His point of view was that of a young man from a well-ordered eastern community, of adventurous spirit, but with a background of family and social connections to which he was much attached. He came with the following letter of recommendation to General Bennet Riley, then commanding the United States troops in California:

My dear Sir,

New Haven, Conn., Feb. 9, 1850

Allow me to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. Edward Hotchkiss of this City. Mr. Hotchkiss is a partner in a mercantile house, of high standing and repute, and goes to California to attend to business of the firm with which he is connected. He is a young gentleman of great personal worth, and belongs to one of our most respectable families. Any kind attentions you may be pleased to show him, will confer a favor on myself as well as him.

I remain with much
respect and esteem
faithfully yours,
E. CUTLER.

Brigr. Genl. Bennet Riley
Com'g. U. S. Troops in
California.

A bill of lading for a package containing \$12,000 in gold dust consigned to Hotchkiss Brothers of New Haven is proof of some degree of success in his enterprise.

In clinging to his principles and preserving his church-going habits in those days of almost lawless laxity, Mr. Hotchkiss was all unconsciously building for California's future, although his stay here was so short. It was the upright men in those days of danger who made a firm foundation for our State.

Mr. Stuart R. Hotchkiss, of Redlands, son of the writer of these interesting letters, has given them to the California Historical Society in the belief that it is a safe repository for these important records. The Society takes pleasure in here printing a selection from them.

HELEN THROOP PRATT.

The Letters

LETTER No. 6. FROM "SACRIMENTO CITY," APRIL 21, 1850

I arrived at San Francisco on Sunday last in good health & spirits. Was much surprised to find S Francisco so large a place, Houses are being put up like magic & the shipping in the harbour looks like New York. I remained there two days, then took passage for this place in the Stem^r Senator at 25 Dls for passage [,] \$2, for supper & \$2, for berths. Sacramento River is a beautiful stream, the scenery equals the North River, the plains being covered with grass & the mountain tops with snow, this range called the "Sierra Nevada" is very high & runs the whole length of the country.

Upon my arrival here not finding the Magnolia¹ took up my abode with Scranton & Smith—Geo Hotchkiss is clerk for them & gets 200 Dlls pr month, he cooks our meals & we get along very comfortably. I sleep on a bed on the floor & eat on a box, to night for supper we shall have a treat, *fresh oysters* brot out by Mr Scranton, & the *marmelade* given me by Aunt Hotchkiss. Board is very high here from 10 to 30 Dlls pr week. I like this place much better than Sanfrancisco, . . . the River is very high now & part of the town is overflowed so that you have to go to some houses in boats, it presents a singular appearance to see tents surrounded with water. Have seen mules & Horses go all under in some of the holes about town. the Roads are now becoming quite good & vast numbers of people are going to the mines. . . .

I attended church this morning heard a Mr Benton [Rev. Joseph A. Benton] from Connecticut, (Congregational) he had a good audience of about 100 persons, only one female, his sermon was plain & practical, the *church* was a *store*, the original one being surrounded with water. Next Sunday I intend going to the Episcopal, which is held in the court house. Sunday is tolerably well observed here considering the class of persons, people from all parts of the globe without any restraint. Gambling is the great curse of this country, it ruins more than any thing else, the Houses are open night and day Sundays not excepted, they have fine bands of music playing and every thing else to make them attractive & many a poor fellow is ruined before he is aware. am happy to hear that Gambling is decreasing & thank fortune I have no inclination that way.

. . . . See many New Haven people here, most all are destined for the mines, in fact men are leaving work at 12 & 14 dlls pr day and going to the mines, I have no doubt there is plenty of Gold there, it is really exciting to see men come in & throw down their bags of Gold dust, they think no more of 50 dlls than we do at home of five & many prefer it to any other kind of labor, even if they don't make as much money. You need not think I have the *féver* for digging, shall not go there to make it a business I assure you. This is destined to be a great country, I never saw such an enterprising set of people, fine houses are constantly being put up. no pains or expense spared each one trying to excel the other. By the

1. Ship belonging to the Hotchkiss firm, which came from the East loaded with lumber.

side of a fine house you will see a small tent pitched with 3 or 4 persons bound to the mines, their cooking stove outside & their mules tied to a stake. . . . I walked about two miles in the country a few days since to "Sutters fort" little did I think when I read of this place in the papers that I should ever see it, the country around was beautiful, could see thousands of cattle feeding that had been brought by the emigrants from the *far west*. the road was lined with wild flowers & altogether I enjoyed it much. What do you think? Hertz the pianist is giving concerts here at 3 Dlls a ticket, so you see they have most every thing here, in fact there is nothing but what a person can have by *paying* for it. . . .

LETTER No. 7. "SACRIMENTO CITY," APRIL 29, 1850

. . . It really seems as though I could see this place grow, there is more business carried on in one day, than at New Haven in a month, . . . the vessels here lay alongside the bank under the shade of fine trees which is very pleasant, the River is full of fish, . . . We had a fine fresh salmon to night for supper, just out of the water.

I walked out yesterday afternoon & called on Prof Shepard my old school teacher,^{1a} his little 6+8 house is now surrounded by water, it being banked up to keep the water off the floor. Mr Benton the Cong^l Clergyman is living with him, Prof S had some fine specimens of minerals & flowers he had been collecting, the latter made me think of you, the flowers of this country are beautiful but do not have much fragrance, have seen the famous California poppy so often spoken of, would like to bring you a specimen. . . .

LETTER No. 8. "SAC CITY," MAY 13, 1850

. . . Have been very busy since the Magnolia arrived, selling & discharging her cargo. Leonard Hotchkiss is assisting me. Our cook is sick & we have to get along the best way we can, I have cooked some, & now think nothing of doing my own washing, all but the white shirts & those I dont wear much—Please say to Mary her Ship^t of Percussion Caps & Sun Glasses are worth more at home, I can not give them away here, the Novels will sell, Shooting implements are a drug in this market, men prefer the "staff of life," [with] which, with a pair of good *blankets* & a *wash pan*, they can get along. . . .

1a. Prof. Forrest Shepard arrived in San Francisco on the *Oregon*, March 31, 1849. He is mentioned in numerous diaries of the period, and late in 1849 he joined with Chester S. Lyman, Rev. Samuel H. Willey and others in drawing up a form of foundation for a University or College of California. (Lyman, Chester S., *Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California*, New Haven, 1924, and Willey, Samuel H., *History of the College of California*, San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1887.) In the diary of Charles T. H. Palmer, now in the possession of Miss Annie C. Day, occurs the following passage:

"During convalescence, I met Prof. Forrest Shepherd, one of the most eccentric and admirable of all men. After graduating [from Yale] he studied theology and medicine, took out licences in each profession and then began a strolling life. He has explored geologically every state in the Union. He has given thousands in the cause of Education; he has always aided young men; he is admired by all. . . . He is close in business—very—and liberal in assistance—*much*. He advised me to take a school here [Sacramento] . . . and I accepted his proposal. He built a shanty for a schoolhouse, open at both ends, and covered with an old sail. In this building I opened the first school in Sacramento Valley [in August, 1849].

LETTER NO. 9. SAN FRANCISCO, MAY 31, 1850

... Since my last have been travelling about the country considerable, first I took a trip up the Sacramento & Feather Rivers, had a delightful trip. On my return started for the Mines, our party consisted of three, mounted on mules, we had a fine time I assure you, visited Mormon Isld, Sutters Mill (where Gold was first discovered) Salmon falls & Georgetown. At the latter place I *dug* Gold, you would have been amused to see me pecking away in the hole, over my boots in water, with the mud spattering all over me, but I did not care for dirt, but filled my pails with dirt & rocked it out, found in the bottom of my pan *about one dollar*. I treasure it more than any dollar I ever had before, Fifty would not buy it, You would not have known me on my return to Sac City, with my Red Shirt & Cal^a Hat, and all besmeared with mud & dust. Georgetown is a beautiful place, the country around is as fine as any part of New England, and I think as healthy, certainly I never breathed purer air, I think people have a wrong impression, about the mines, the sickness last season was mostly owing to the poor provisions & exposure the miners were subjected to, this year think it will be entirely different. ... Noticed many were cultivating the soil thro the country we passed, some are making Hay which is worth about \$50. pr ton. Scythes are selling from 40 to 60 dolls apiece, Potatoes are worth 15 to 20¢ pr lb which is about \$10, a bushel, Eggs 15 to 20¢ *apiece*, Milk 50¢ a quart. What would our farmers think of these prices, and what our housekeepers think of paying such prices. This is a strange country whatever people want they are willing to pay for, for instance Tacks have been selling at \$2, a paper, & one could buy a Keg of Nails for \$5. the reason of this is, that quantities of the former article are used in fastening cotton cloth about rooms instead of Paper, this article which was worth nothing some time since, is now in great demand. I passed a tent the other day made out of Cotton Pockt Hchfs, they make any thing here suit the purpose it is wanted for, It is worth coming here just to see the way people live. You would be amused to see me make up my bed on the floor, it consists of two Blankets laid down first, then two Blankets & overcoat to cover me, When the Magnolia arrives shall have a good bed. I dont like to go into the Public Houses here, they are infested with vermin, so I stay in the office with Chs & Leonard Hotchkiss. By the way I saw Roger Baldwin [,] Blake & Tyler² at the mines, should hardly have known them they look so rough & hearty. they seem to enjoy the miners life, said a few days before they had been in the mountains where the snow was four feet deep, they were glad enough to see a person direct from New Haven.

A few days since I exchanged my Watch & Chain for a specimen of Gold, & as the bearer of this (Mr Baker) is going directly to New Haven thought I would send it home, it is considered a beautiful specimen here, showing the

2. Roger Sherman Baldwin, Charles T. Blake, and Edwin Tyler, were members of a group of Yale graduates of the classes of 1847 and 1848 who sailed from New York in January, 1849, and came through Nicaragua in George Gordon's company, arriving in San Francisco on October 5, 1849. Baldwin was the brother of Governor Simeon Baldwin of Connecticut; Blake was the father of Mr. Anson S. Blake, and Tyler was the uncle of Judge F. W. Henshaw and the late William G. Henshaw.

manner in which Gold is laid in the quartz rock, think I could sell it here for \$100, though the actual value of Gold would not come to that, dare say people at home would rather have the solid Gold than specimens, but here they bring great prices. the Gold I dug myself shall keep & bring home with me, for fear of its being lost.

... The most we miss here is female society, have not spoken to a Lady yet since leaving home. ...

LETTER NO. 10. ONBOARD MAGNOLIA, RIVER SACRAMENTO, JUNE 9, 1850

... a few days since I heard the Magnolia was ashore, therefore I came up to her, found her afloat & am now waiting for a wind to get down to Sanfrancisco.

... It seems as though bad luck followed this vessel wherever she went, she was 5 weeks going up this River, when she ought to go up in as many days, she has been over two weeks getting here, & may be as much longer to Sanfrancisco the crew have all left ...

... Last Sunday I attended Mr Mine^s church³ in the morning, it was full to overflow'g & Mr M gave us a fine Sermon, in the afternoon attended the Cong^l Church Rev T. Dwight Hunt pastor, this was not so full, but I liked Mr D [H] very much. ... Sunday is a good deal desecrated in San Francisco by riding [,] Gambling &c, but the Churches are better attended than formerly & I think as the better class of people are settling here, things will assume a different aspect, Even now business is conducted more as it is at home, the country is full of Yankees & they will carry their manners & customs with them, "& still they come" Day before I left S Francisco about 600 passengers arrived from the States, What they will all do, can not tell, if they only go to the mines there is room enough, but too many stop in the cities & contract habits of dissipation & its attendant vices, the price of labor must come down & provisions will always bear a high price therfore many of them will be no better off than they were in the States. I would not advise any one to come out here at present, there are too many flocking here with the idea of making their fortunes in a short time, Yet *am not sorry* I came out, it is worth a good deal to see the "Elephant" think I have had a full view of the *animal* now. This is destined to be a great country, when all the emigration arrives from the East & West, North & South, it will be as densely populated as the Atlantic States. At S Francisco just before I left a large mass meeting was held to resist sundry laws enacted in regard to taxation, the meeting was held on the Plaza & I had no idea such a crowd could be collected in Sanfrancisco, a procession was formed with a band of music & it really seemed like a political gathering at home. A peculiar trait in the American people, they will express their opinions in public, without fear of law or armed force, how different in Europe where the least sign of a crowd or indignation meeting, calls out an army of soldiers.

Near Benicia June 11th Eve'g

Had to stop writing before on account of the Musquitoes, You can have no idea of these troublesome animals at home. We anchored one night opposite New

3. Trinity Church, founded in 1850 by Rev. Flavel H. Mines, who died of tuberculosis a few years later.

York⁴ (more appropriately *Musquitoe town*) and I never was so uncomfortable in my life. We made a bar over our beds, but they would get through it, & although I had my clothes on they bit through, dont think a person onboard slept any all night, I arose at daybreak & then could not breathe without swallowing them, this may seem a tough story I have been telling, but it is true, as my face and hands will bear witness too, at the present time—This country is full of vermin, at Sanfrancisco, Fleas are very troublesome, Sac City is full of Rats, & any where near the rivers musquitoes of the *largest kind*. . .

LETTER NO. 11. SAN FRANCISCO, JUNE 23, 1850

. . . *The 19th my birth day* I thought much of home, could not celebrate it as I wished, that day we were entangled with another vessel & in considerable trouble, still at dinner we indulged in a bottle of Ale, and I took a very choice cigar which [I] had been keeping for the occasion & enjoyed myself as much as possible under the circumstances. We arrived here the day of the large Fire, it was a melancholy prospect on going ashore to behold the ruins, a vast amount of property was destroyed, but the people are not disheartened, but are building up again, hardly stopping for the smoldering embers to be quenched.

This morning another cry of Fire soon all the bells of the shipping were ringing, found it proceeded from a large ship near us, they let her drift outside the others & scuttled her, it really seemed a pity to see such a fine vessel go to destruction so speedily. After the Fire I went to Church (*Episcopal low*), did not like the clergyman as well . . . Congregation including many Ladies, this class are much more numerous than when I first came out, quite a number arrive by every steamer, it seems much more like civilization when you see Ladies about, J McCracken says he visits quite a pleasant circle of them, I am not in a situation, neither have I the inclination to court their society here, shall leave that till I return home, when I calculate to *make up for lost time*, hope they will not all be married before that time.

. . . What all the people coming to California are going to do, I cannot tell, they are flocking in by every Steamer and sailing vessel, besides the endless number that cross the plains from the West. Mechanics & Sailors wages are high, yet all push for the mines, What an attraction this yellow metal is. Gold has been discovered it is said in Oregon, no doubt this will turn many there.

Shall send by C F H[otchkiss] the small parcel of *precious Dust*, which I dug, you must handle it carefully as I would not lose one speck, in fact it is only fit for *delicate Ladies fingers to touch*. When you look, think how I tugged away to obtain it. *Wish there was more*. . .

LETTER NO. 12. SAN FRANCISCO, JUNE 30, 1850

. . . I attended church this morning at the Baptist, they have a large congregation, saw more females than I have seen together before in California, the Clergyman [Rev. O. C. Wheeler] is a very talented man & quite popular here,

4. Now Pittsburg. See Wiltsee, Ernest A., "The City of New York of the Pacific," this *Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 1, March 1933, pp. 25-34.

he gave us an effecting discourse, sort of a funeral sermon on a brother clergyman who died at the mines, after service a contribution was taken up for the benefit of his poor widow & family in Maine, & I never gave a dollar more cheerfully in my life, hardly a *dry eye* in the whole house, while the minister was speaking, think a large amt must have been contributed, though it will be a poor relief to a broken heart. Think Sunday is better observed here, than when I first arrived, . . .

LETTER NO. 13. SAN FRANCISCO, JULY 13, 1850

. . . Have sent the Magnolia on a short voyage & supposed I should have nothing to do for some time, but a Gent of my acquaintance going to Oregon wished me to take his place for a month or six weeks, which I accepted & get \$200 pr month, have good bed &c furnished it costs about \$18. pr week for board & \$2 for washing, further than this I have no expenses, as a person can not spend any thing here for amusements &c. . . .

4th July was celebrated to some extent here, Oration, procession, firing &c, but the most beautiful sight I ever beheld was the Shipping in the harbour, to see 700 vessels with the Flags of all nations floating in the breeze was magnificent. I think Americans appreciate this day more in a foreign country than they do at home. I forgot this is not a foreign country, but it seems so, you hear all languages spoken, though the *Yankee* is predominant, there are many Chinese here, it is amusing to see them work, Really it seems as though we were quite near China, every few days cargoes are sold from there, many beautiful curiosities can be purchased. When I go home shall bring some, if you wish a *very expensive silk shawl please send your order.*

In my last [I] spoke of the large Fire, now several large Brick buildings are put up, some of them 3 & 4 stories high, really this is a great country, I never saw things drove ahead with such rapidity before. *Wood houses* are put up in one day but they are mere shells, lined with cloth inside, there is no rain at this season of the year. People will live more comfortable here this winter than last, plenty of Stoves & fuel & good tight houses with chimneys. I have not seen a drop of Rain since leaving Panama.

Sunday Eveg 14th

Have attended church twice to day, Episcopal this morning, congregational this afternoon, the churches are well attended here, Sunday is better observed than formerly, no Gambling & the stores are generally closed. People dress more as they do at home, I put on my *black suit* to day for the first time, in fact have never seen the bottom of my trunk before to day, the thin clothes I brought are not much use here, am writing now with my overcoat on a fire would not be uncomfortable, it does not seem like July. . . .

LETTER NO. 14. SAN FRANCISCO, JULY 30, 1850

. . . Time flies on, & San Francisco grows as fast as ever, *if not faster*— the Weather of late has been very pleasant (for this country), & now we have our street sprinkled, can get along very well, we are becoming more & more *civilised*

evry day, this street (Montgomery) is a second Wall St, there are no less than 6 or 8 Banking Houses, besides several express offices, Brokers, Lawyiers [sic] &c, & Men walk as fast as if they had a note to pay before 3 O'clock, but there are no Notes here, nothing but bags of *Gold* or *Specie*.

I was on board Capt Molthrop's brig, when the last Steamer arrived, we were drinking tea, when some one cried out *Signal* for *Steamer*, all rushed on deck forgetting our Supper, then the question went round, how many letters will you have &c, had to wait three days however before the Mail was distributed, then I took my *stand in the line for about an hour* & was amply rewarded for the trouble. You have no idea how much anxiety the arrival of a Mail creates here, joy to some, & sorrow to others. Have not heard from Mr Sabin lately, it is very rare we hear from any one at the mines, except when they come down to take the steamer. Considerable disturbance has taken place recently in the Southern Mines, on account of the many foreigners there, a tax being levied upon them, which they dont like to pay, many murders have been committed, the miners are daily coming down from there, Mr Sabin is at the Northern Mines, where every thing is quiet & peaceable, trust he will be spared to return home richly rewarded for his toil & labor. I saw Young Gregory to day he is going home with Capt Gleney (of N Haven) to sail in a few days in the U S Ship "Preble" hardly a day passes but what I see some N Haven face. I dined this eve'g with Young Blake [Charles T. Blake] just returned from the mines, all these things bring me near home & can hardly realise that I am so far away. Mr Field I meet daily, he appears to be a very fine man. Most of my companions are Bostonians, young men of good character & [they] do not forget their New England education, like many others in this strange land, one of them Mr Bacon is engaged to a New Haven young lady (Miss Cornelia Thompson) he graduated at Yale, so we often talk over *town affairs* which helps pass away many dull eve'gs, otherwise. . . .

LETTER No. 15. SAN FRANCISCO, AUGUST 14, 1850

. . . You speak of California being such a dreadful country, you would not think so if here, to see the enterprise of the people, the improvements constantly going on, is truly astonishing.—if this place is not visited with any more conflagrations, it will soon rival New York & other large cities. We have every thing here that can be purchased any where, it seems as if the eyes of the whole world were directed here, & that every country was emptying her surplus products into our midst. We have the products of East Indies & Europe, & to day have seen a cart going through the streets with *Boston Lake Ice* marked upon it in large black letters, two cargoes have lately been recd which is selling at 30 cts pr lb.

Since my last Mr Pierce (the person [in] whose place I was a substitute) has returned from Oregon, so now [I] am a Gent of elegant leisure, for a short time *I hope*, this being idle I do not fancy much, especially in this country where *every one* is actively engaged.

Yesterday changed my boarding house, am now living in a family (Mrs Stillmans) where I have a good room, bed & *clean sheets*, though it costs me a good round sum, *25 dolls a week*. I could not endure it longer living in one place & another, where the houses were full of *vermin*, & after all it cost nearly as much, give me a good place to sleep & I am not so particular about the eating part, now it seems more like home, & if I am sick, will have a *female* to take care of me, perhaps it will make me a little more *gentlemanly*, though dont think I shall be induced to shave off my *whiskers & beautiful mustach*. . . . We have every kind of vegetable here, that is raised in New England, I feast most every day on raw *Tomatos* last Sunday we had *ten* different kind of vegetables on [the] table, it was not so last year, so you see what the *Yankees* can do, & what the *soil* is capable off [sic], Most of the gardens are on the Sacramento, & they are a greater *fortune* to the owners, than some of the *Gold Mines*—Speaking of the Mines, I saw Prof Shepard to day, he has lately returned from a *tour*, he thinks the prospect is very good for the *Mines* & that they will not be exhausted this year or next but will endure for ages, . . . Hark!—I hear Music, it is a band going by, with two Spaniards in the rear, with a *card* for a *Bull fight*. Yesterday a procession of sailors passed with Drum & fife, on a strike for higher wages. Every day there is something of this kind. California is a *strange* place, but it is daily becoming more civilized, it seems as if the climate was more agreeable than when I wrote formerly, or else I am getting use to it. Ladies are now frequently seen in the street, this morning I saw two riding horseback before breakfast, it carried me right back to N[ew] H[aven]—Mrs Pierson a relation of the Blakes, that I saw in N H is here, in Ship “Rose Standish” . . .

LETTER No. 16. SAN FRANCISCO, AUGUST 25, 1850

. . . I went to the Office yesterday on the arrival of the mail & found nothing there, imagine my dissapointment, but to day the letters were in my box. The Mail is not usually open on Sunday, except when it arrives the day previous, I never saw so great a crowd about the Office as this morning. Should think there were over 500 people on the ground, it looked like a mob, were it not they were all arranged in regular lines.

The news of Genl Taylor's death cast a gloom over our City, the Steamer came in with her colors $\frac{1}{2}$ mast, every one was anxious to know the news, soon the vessels in the harbour set their colors, then we knew a great man had fallen, Thursday of this week is set apart for funeral obsequies of the deceased. Our Clergyman this morning alluded to this sudden dispensation of Providence in a very effecting [sic] manner, he brought tears in the eyes of most of his hearers. Mr Mines has returned to the States, we now have Rev Dr [R. Townsend] Huddart from N York (the same I heard at Panama) he is a very fine preacher. The pastor of the other Episcopal Church [Rev. J. L. Ver Mehr] I do not like at all he can not speak our language so as it can be understood and judging from his dress, should think him a stronger Puseyite than Mr Mines or any of the others here. An Episcopal Convention was held here about a week since, the

Rev Dr [Horatio] Southgate was elected Bishop of California, do not know where he is at present, but suppose he is expected here, Episcopal appears to be a favorite denomination in this country & have no doubt if the Church is well managed will increase rapidly, but we want as smart men here as any where else. Cast off Preachers can not succeed at all & there is no use sending them, it is like everything else Cal^a wants the best.

. . . In my last mentioned that I had gone to a private boarding house, since then have made an arrangement with a friend & opened a Lumber yard. We have put up an office where I slept last night, for the first time, on a new bed & *Clean* sheets, how long they will remain so can not tell, this is such a dusty place, What think you of my owning a house in California, it is not a very large one about 14 feet square, three of us sleep in $\frac{1}{2}$ the room Leonard Hotchkiss, Mr Edwards & myself, my partner is a Physician so if I am sick can have attention. People can not tell what they will do when coming to California, how many times my plans have been changed, trust my business will not keep me here this winter, the Weather is very chilly & uncomfortable now, last Sunday it was beautiful, Thermometer about 90°, every one was out enjoying it, but next day what a change, an Overcoat, was not uncomfortable—California may well be called a country of *Changes*. . .

29th P M

To day the funeral obsequies of Gen^l Taylor have been gone through with, & it would have done honor to any City, let alone San Francisco, the procession was nearly a mile long composed of Military[,] Firemen, Odd fellows[,] Masons &c, a short eulogy was deliv^d, together with prayer & music, an account of which, shall send you in a newspaper. In the procession noticed about 50 Chinese in their native costume, which presented a singular appearance, the Military wore blue shirts & black pants with glazed [?] caps, which looked very well, they had an excellent band. Now the pomp & parade is over, things go on their usual way, how soon the good President will be forgotten, such is life, trust it will be a profitable lesson to us all, by the way noticed more Ladies out to day, then I have ever seen here before, the speakers stand was crowded, besides the windows of various buildings, the day was very fine, *no wind for a wonder*, & the flags hung listlessly to their half masts, all seemed appropriate to the occasion. Have been very busy of late in my *Lumber yard*, & when night come was glad to wrap up in my *thick* blankets & sleep, perhaps *dream of home*, *sleep* is a luxury in this country "it drowns all care & sorrow" the Flees are very troublesome, but when I am fatigued, do not mind them. I have mentioned before that there [are] all kinds of vermin in this country but think the Yankees will drive them out after a while, they surmount all obstacles, which makes the native Spaniards wonder & open their eyes. . .

LETTER NO. 17. SAN FRANCISCO, SEPTEMBER 13, 1850

. . . Have just returned from a walk with Leonard Hotchkiss this fine moonlight eve'g, looked into one or two of the gambling saloons for the first time in several weeks, these places are much better patronised than they were some time since,

the miners are now coming in & they spend their money free as water, many a poor fellow will lose all his hard summers earnings in one night. In one of these saloons is a very fine violinist a 2d Ole Bull he attracts crowds, in others there are pretty senoritas sitting at the tables, in some females tending the bar, they contrive every way to create an excitement & draw a crowd. As I have frequently said these places are productive of great injury, they are the resort of all classes in the eve'g. . . .

LETTER No. 18. SAN FRANCISCO, SEPTEMBER 22, 1850

Have written you before that I had opened a Lumber yard, came near being deprived of it last Tuesday morning, a Fire broke out in the block below us & burnt a large district, but thanks to a kind Providence it was stopped at the corner next our yard, we were in imminent danger for a long time, I had my clothes all packed up ready to move at any moment—the Fires here are dreadful, they keep one in a state of anxiety all the time—The people here are not discouraged at trifles, already several buildings are erected on the burnt district, they commenced before the ruins were done smoking. We have been kept very busy the past week, selling Lumber, so that it is fortunate on more accounts than one, we were not burnt out. . . .

28th

. . . It would give me pleasure to leave here now, but it is utterly impossible, where 15 or 20,000 dollars is at stake, it is necessary for some one to look out for it, & I dare not leave it in other persons hands at present. My experience thus far has been, *especially in California*, if you want your work well done *do it yourself*. . . .

. . . You speak of the many pleasures & enjoyments, it is tantalising to think I am losing them all, the fine fruits & vegetables I miss them too, though we have quite a variety of vegetables here, & very fine Pears & Apples brought from San Jose sixty miles from here, they retail at 1 shilling which is rather dearer than at home, I indulge however on one or two every day, thinking it better than paying 25 cts for a glass of beer, as many do. Water Melons are quite plenty, in market, but I am afraid of them. San Jose the Capitol of this State is said to be a very pleas[an]t place, the climate mild & warm, many have gone there for the purpose of cultivating farms & gardens. Heard Mr Huddart preach this morning was very much interested in his discourse. Said that we never knew how to appreciate our privileges & enjoyments untill we had been deprived of them . . .

LETTER No. 19. SAN FRANCISCO, OCTOBER 13, 1850

. . . We have had beautiful weather the past few weeks, the evecs however are cold, am now writing with my overcoat on. Expect rain now at any time, it will be nothing like as bad here this winter during the rainy season, most of the public streets are now planked, with sewers to carry the water off. Should hardly know this city now, than when I first arrived, then the streets were dusty & dirty, not but one brick building in the place, now there are many fine brick edifices & the streets well graded & clean, though I do not *fancy* this country *over*

much, yet there is a spirit of Enterprise & go ahead in the people, that I can not help but admire. It is amusing to see the different classes of people mix together here, was in a bathing house this morning, first came in two Chinese for a *Washing*, then some senioritas for their *banos*, then a Frenchman for his *bain* &c &c this will give you an idea of the medley there is here, I have not mentioned half of the different nations. One ought to know every language on the face of the Globe to get along well— One learns to be independent here . . . I never enjoyed better health & were it not for the *fleas*, which are very troublesome at this season of the year, should get along very well. . . .

LETTER NO. 20. SAN FRANCISCO, OCT 27TH, 1850

. . . Have been visited the past few days by several return Miners (New Haven boys) bound home, two Mr Phipps among the number, they are generally in good spirits & intend returning again in the Spring, trust they may be carried to their destination in safety to give pleasure to their families & friends, though I am afraid Cholera will make havoc among the passengers now leaving here in such quantities by sailing vessels & steamers, this disease is hovering all about us, there is considerable of it at Sacramento City & some few cases here, though I do not think it will exist as an epidemic, I consider this place much more healthy than Sacramento, on account of the former being so low & flat, similar to New Orleans. H L Scranton goes home in this steamer, it makes me sad to think of his going without me, as we calculated to accompany each other, but under present circumstances, am quite satisfied to remain a while longer. . . . You ask how I like California, should think my former letters would give you some idea, but I will say that if my friends & relations were here I think I should be well contented, California is improving every day & I like it better than I did, but not well enough to remain away from my friends. San Francisco is destined to be a great commercial city & I am satisfied that there is a better chance for a young man to acquire a fortune here than in the Eastern States, but as you say Money is not every thing, *I agree with you.*

People are in much better spirits here, since the news rec^d of *our* admittance into the Union, We feel as though California composed one of *the band* of Sister States, which band I trust will never be broken. the Steamer⁵ bringing the news came into the harbour with colors flying & guns firing, all on shore knew what it meant, & such an excitement I never saw before. Next Tuesday is set apart for a public celebration & rejoicing, no business is to be transacted & it will be a day of jubilee I expect, if I have time will give you an account of it. . . . You would have been amused last Evng to see the party of N Haven boys sitting around our fire, & telling their exploits, in the mines. . . .

29th

This the day of the Celebration has passed, & such a Gala day I never saw before in California, or any where else, the morning was ushered in with a National Salute, then procession, oration &c, closing with Fire works, Grand Ball

5. The *Oregon*, bearing the news, arrived on October 18, 1850.

&c in the Eveg. Now while I am writing rockets are going off, Crackers firing &c, the whole town is alive, but I prefer being where, & doing what I am. Crackers . . . are fired different from what we do at home, the Chinese boys fire them, a number of packs at a time, have seen as many as [a] half barrel full, I expect nothing else than they will set the town on Fire to night. The procession was a splendid affair, the most grotesque one I ever witnessed, to see the Native Californians mounted on their wild Horses & dressed in their native Costume, the Chinese with their long tails, Mexicans & all nations, together with Military, Firemen, Odd Fellows & Masons, was a sight well worth looking at. But the day closed up with a sad finale, just at dark as one of the small steamers was leaving for up river⁶, crowded with passengers, the boiler burst, scattering "death & destruction all around" report says, 20 or 30 lives are lost. I saw several mangld Corpses carried past my office, the most horrible sight I ever beheld a solemn & sudden warning to us all, "in the midst of life we are in death"—

LETTER NO. 21. SAN FRANCISCO, NOVEMBER 10, 1850

. . . I attended the Baptist Church this eve'g, it's much the largest Church in town, & is well filled every Sunday, the Clergyman [Rev. O. C. Wheeler] is a very smart man, he gave us a solemn sermon on the uncertainty of life, alluded to the cholera around us &c; by the way do not be alarmed about this disease, I dont think there is much in this city, though it would not be surprising if there was, so many people here live imprudently, I do not feel alarmed, my partner is a Doctor who understands the treatment of this disease. At Sacremento City it has been quite bad, but is now reported on the decrease. . . .

Nov 14 10 P M

. . . Have been very busy this week, getting away the Magnolia, selling goods &c. I wanted very much to go in the Bark to the Sandwich Islds, but could not arrange my business so as to leave . . .

LETTER NO. 22. SAN FRANCISCO, NOVEMBER 24, 1850

. . . It is now very disagreeable here, since my last, speaking of such delightful weather, the rainy season has set in & for the past four days it has rained almost incessantly, the streets except those that are planked are almost impassable, I never saw such mud as this, one can hardly stand up it is so slippery—but thank fortune our *shantie* is *tight*, we have a good place to sleep & a nice little stove to dry our feet, so we get along quite comfortable, although I do not anticipate much *pleasure* for two or three months to come— . . .

27th P M

Nothing new for the past three days, except the Weather has been pleasant, but it is raining again this Eve'g—To morrow I suppose will be Thanksgiving in old Connecticut, I shall think of you often & no doubt the *absent one* will be remembered when you meet around the festive board, I have never before been absent on this time honored & appropriately observed day— Saturday the 30th is appointed by the Govenor here, but I do not think it will be much observed,

6. The *Sagamore*, on its way to Stockton.

from the character of the people. For some days past our streets have swarmed with Frenchmen, several ships have arrived bringing a great number of these emigrants, what they all are going to do at this season of the year, I know not. 28th P M.

Have been working hard all day. At dinner thought of home, I had roast Wild Duck & sweet Potatoo, *Desert, Pudding*, think you had a greater variety, & a glass of Wine to drink my health. The Weather has been pleasant & much warmer I imagine than in New Haven. As it is getting late I must shake the "Pulgas" out of my blankets & retire, so once more I bid you Good Night—

LETTER NO. 23. SAN FRANCISCO, DECEMBER 14, 1850

... I wrote you fully by Leonard who left on 30 Nov, since then nothing of interest has transpired, the Cholera has almost entirely disappeared from our midst, for which I am truly thankful, it is estimated over 600 persons have been taken from the City, by this "fell destroyer", mostly of the lower class & men addicted to intemperance have been the victims, Yet when you saw a man well one day, & the next, buried, & the Hearse constantly passing it was enough to alarm the most fearless. I never altered my manner of living, but kept regular in all my habits, as I always have done since I have been in this country, & I am thankful to say, have never had a sick day, trust a kind Providence will continue this blessing unto me during my sojourn in this country & until I reach my native shores once more. . . .

LETTER NO. 24. SAN FRANCISCO, DECEMBER 29, 1850

... This afternoon I walked up Telegraph Hill, to look for the Stm^r Panama, soon a Steamer made her appearance, crowds began to flock up the Hill, but all were disappointed in finding it the "Northerner" she brings no tidings of the "Panama" great anxiety now exists as this steamer had over 200 Passengers & large U S Mail, trust we may yet hear of her safety somewhere.

I went up to Sacramento City three days since, & returned last Eve'g, Should hardly know the place since I was up there last summer, the City is almost deserted, many left on account of the Cholera, some have gone to the States *with fortunes*, others have gone *without any*, but I suppose next Summer it will be the same lively bustling place. Our friend Mr Scranton has put up a fine brick store, & has a room up stairs, fitted up the same as in New Haven, I slept there, & it seemed the most like home of any thing since I left. Christmas has past & gone, New Years is at hand, these Holy days make me think much of home. I was not able to attend church on Christmas, but in the afternoon a small party of us *New Haveners*, sat down to a sumptuous dinner, & *talked of, & drank to, friends at home*. Dont think I shall make many *calls* New Years, without it is on some of my *debtors*. The churches here are not dressed with evergreens, not even the Catholic, how different my employment this year than last at this season, then dressing Church, now selling Lumber, the Winter was then cold with snow & sleighing, here it is like Indian Summer, warm days & cool nights, sometimes a

slight white frost, it is much cooler at Sacramento now than here, the Sierra Nevada Mts are covered with snow, some miners have been lost in the heavy drifts.

Since my last have commenced *Housekeeping* in good earnest, that is *Cooking*, my Partner is a first rate cook (in fact he is good at any thing), *I bring the Water* & sometimes *wash the dishes*, & I must confess enjoy this way of living much better than boarding at the Restaurants, now we have just what we like, & it helps pass away the time when there is nothing else to do, besides costing much less money, though you would think at home the Provisions high, for instance Beef & Pork 25 to 50 cts a pound, molasses \$1. pr gall, Sugar 25 cts a lb, Milk 50 cts a quart, & other things in proportion. We occasionally indulge in cake & sweetmeats which can be had quite reasonable now, large quantities have been brought from the States—What would Houskeepers in N Haven think of these prices, Eggs I forgot to mention 1 to 2 dolls a dozen. . . .

Jany 1st 1851, how it sounds! Wish you a Happy New Year. Nothing new since writing the foregoing, to shew the extravagance & expence of living & *dying* in California, the enclosed strips cut from a newspaper, will give you an idea. Mayor Bigelow was shot during the Squatter rebellion at Sacramento^{6a} & came down here to have his arm amputated, he afterwards died with the Cholera, the poor man suffered every thing both in body & mind, having a few weeks previous to the rebellion, failed in business. . . .

LETTER NO. 25. SAN FRANCISCO, JANUARY 12, 1851

. . . Since my last have visited Stockton, Business being dull, & the fare being reduced, thought I would take a short trip & see the country, Stockton is not so large as Sacramento City, but a thriving town, the River San Joaquin upon which it is situated, is very narrow & crooked, We passed plenty of Wild Game, Ducks & Geese in any quantities, Our market is filled with these at the present time, which make up very well for the loss of the tame ones, you have at home.

. . . Our City is all excitement by reports of new Gold discoveries on the Coast⁷ . . . think I shall wait till the accounts are more reliable, before I *go to dig*. . . .

LETTER NO. 26. SAN FRANCISCO, JANUARY 26, 1851

. . . I attended Church this morning, this afternoon walked out to view the beauties of Nature, and really I never knew San Francisco to appear so beautiful, dont know but I shall love this place if I remain much longer, especially if we have such Weather as the last six weeks has been. . . . You can have no idea of the improvements that have taken place since I first arrived, one can hardly imagine that so much could be accomplished in such a short time. Last Sunday I attended the dedication of a new Congl [Presbyterian]⁸ Church, it is a very

6a. For the Squatter rebellion and its causes see *California*, by Josiah Royce, American Commonwealths Series, pp. 477-79.

7. "Gold Bluffs." See *Annals of San Francisco*, pp. 311-14.

8. The new First Presbyterian Church (Rev. Albert Williams, pastor) was a wooden building that had come from New York around the Horn. It was set up on the west side of Stockton Street, near Broadway, and was dedicated on Jan. 19, 1851, but was completely destroyed in the fire of June 22 of that year.

neat building in the Gothic style, the services were interesting, Church crowded to overflowing, in the Eveg I attended again, it seemed more like home, of any thing since my leaving, the Church was well lighted, many Ladies were there, good Music &c.

... I thought of you to night at Supper, & wished you had some of our nice *Tea*, only 35 days from China, Can you realise we are so near the Orientals? Am almost tempted to take a trip over there, the distance seems so short, but I think I shall have to defer it, till I have been home once more. . . .

LETTER NO. 27. SAN FRANCISCO, MARCH 1, 1851

... Great excitement has existed here the past week in relation to two persons arrested for robbery & Murder,⁹ last Sunday thousands of persons surrounded the jail determined to hang them on the spot, without a trial, but after being addressed by the Mayor & several citizens, agreed to give them a trial, the fact is crime had become so common & so long unpunished, that no ones life or property was safe, & the people had resolved to take justice in their own hands, & not submit to the Lawyers & courts which allowed all criminals to escape. Very much the same scenes have been enacted at Sacramento City only they have acted more summary. A man was shot by a Gambler, he was immediately taken by the crowd, who appointed a committee to try him on the spot, finding him guilty he was hung in less than twelve hours after the fatal deed was committed. I do not approve of Lynch Law, but I believe these things will have a salutary effect upon our Courts of justice, at all events men will not dare to rob in broad day light, & shoot each other for a trivial offence, as heretofore. . . .

The Mail being detained, thought I would add a few lines more. Yesterday was a lovely day, I attended the Episcopal Church (Mr Van Meyer^s) [Ver Mehr] although I do not like this Clergyman^s preaching, yet as they have very fine music, I attend occasionally, this Congregation are building a new Church, they seem to be more prosperous than the other society (Mr Mines) I wish they had a better preacher, at any rate one that could speak plain English, this one speaks like a *tounge tyed German*. In the Eve'g I went to the New Presbyterian Church, which was well filled, people here attend Church more than they did, & they will continue to do so so long as our Churches improve, & familys arrive out.

On Saturday afternoon I took a short Horseback ride in the country, went to the "Mission Dolores" about four miles from town, a very pretty place, many people are settling there now, cultivating gardens &c, it was truly delightful galloping over the plains, snuffing the fresh air from the green grass, hearing the frogs croak made me think of home in the Spring, the Scenery about New Haven is not so wild & romantic as here, every view you take from our numerous hills, the scene changes, & in the Mts it is still more beautiful, . . .

9. Thomas Berdue (mistaken for James Stuart, a Sydney convict) and Robert Windred had been arrested for the assault and robbery, on February 19, of C. J. Jansen, a prominent merchant of San Francisco. See Williams, Mary F., *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851*, Berkeley, 1921, pp. 170-76, 257-58, 303.

LETTER No. 28. SAN FRANCISCO, MARCH 13, 1851

... There is an excitement here that keeps a man alive, though he has not a *dime* in his pocket to buy bread, he lives on *hope*, perhaps to morrow he may have his *pile*. I live on hope, if it was not for *this*, I should be miserable . . .

Have written you before that we have most every nation on the Globe represented here. We now have some Japanese, you are aware this nation never allow any intercourse with other nations, these are the first that were ever seen abroad, they were picked up at sea by a vessel bound here, having been blown off from their native coast in an open boat, they are 14 in number, & are to be sent back in a U S Ship, hoping that through them, our nation may enter into some negotiation with their own, I have not seen the curiosities yet. Have no doubt ere long, we shall have direct steam communication with the Sandwich Islds, Japan, & China, in fact all the East Indies, really this is an age of progress and improvement. I have a great desire to visit the Sandwich Islds, before I return, but fear I shall not be able, they seem so near us, it is a pity to loose [sic] the opportunity. . . .

LETTER No. 29. SAN FRANCISCO, MARCH 27, 1851

... In regard to this City being such a dreadfully wicked place, as many imagine, I do not think it much worse than other large cities, as a natural consequence where so many are thrown together of different nations & creeds, and mostly *males*, there will be different modes of thinking & acting. Am happy to say however, this country is daily improving, Gambling for one thing has fallen off, it is difficult now to support their elegant saloons, & many are used for other purposes. By every steamer many Ladies & families are arriving, though I shall have to give your fair sex a compliment, I do say this will tend more to elevate the society here than any thing else, there is no place where a respectable Lady has so much attention shown her as here. We have had a great many rascals & vile characters in our midst, but they are now giving place to wiser & better men I trust & when this is accomplished, California will be *equal*, if not superior to any of the Eastern States. Rev Mr Mines & his family arrived by last Steamer

...

Sunday Evng 30th

... I wish you were here to take supper with us to night, my partner is cooking a nice fresh Elk steak, made a present to us by a hunter across the bay, this with a good Cup of Chocolate will make a fine meal I assure you, how some of our epicures at home would envy our Elk, Venison, Bear Meat & fresh Salmon.

I enclose you a picture of a Californian, which if you observe at a little distance, may recognise some one you have seen before. I also send you a description of a boiling spring, discovered by Prof Shepard of N Haven, you will notice he has named one after Prof [Benjamin] Silliman [of Yale University]^{9a} . . .

9a. The *California State Gazette*, dated at Benicia, March 22, 1851, remarks that

"Our learned friend, Prof. Forrest Sheperd, has just returned from a visit to a number of remarkable fountains discovered by him, between Clear Lake and Russian River. His attention was first drawn to them, from the summit of a neighboring mountain, by jets of steam, similar to that evolved from an immense high-pressure engine. After several days labor, he succeeded in penetrating the thick forest and undergrowth,

[Letter No. 30, April 12, 1851, being almost entirely personal in nature, has been omitted.]

LETTER NO. 31. SAN FRANCISCO, MAY 11, 1851

... I will commence with what has been the all absorbing topic of conversation for a week past, the awful Conflagration that has visited this City once more, & made the principal part of it, one heap of ruins. About a Week since, on Saturday night, the Cry of Fire was heard, (which always strikes terror into the hearts of all) it proceeded from a small building, near the Plaza, we did not think much of it, at first but the Wind commenced blowing, which spread the raging element in all directions, it burnt furiously till broad day light, till perfectly satisfied & every body worn out battling the flames, the best part of the City is destroyed, most of the fine brick buildings, Hotels Custom House &c, & what is worse than all many valuable lives lost, several were locked in brick buildings supposing them fire proof, but they never came out, until their remains were dug out of the ruins, it was sad to hear the bells of the different fire companies tolling, while their brothers were carried to the tomb.

Many thought this City would never be built up again, but on Monday morning, before the embers were done smoking many buildings were in process of erection, & to day though but one short week several streets are nearly filled up, the buildings however are small & merely temporary, it will take a long time for the City to recover this loss, it is estimated at nearly 20 Million of dollars, but there is no place like this for energy & perseverance, I must say, I felt a pride in the astonishing growth of this place, the fine brick buildings, wharfs & planked streets, which are now destroyed, it is a sad thought, then to imagine it was the work of an incendiary merely for the sake of plunder, a vast amount of property was carried off in this way.

Stockton too is destroyed by fire, three days after the calamity here, that town was laid in ruins, supposed by an incendiary, there is a gang of ruffians in our midst, who think of nothing but plunder & destruction, its too bad the offscouring, from the penal settlements of Great Britain have been admitted here, a vessel arrived the other day, supposed to have quite a number on board, the authorities at Sydney & N S Wales no doubt are glad to get rid of them, & there is not authority enough here to stop them.

Many of my friends have been burnt out, but am thankful to say I have escaped, this makes the second time we have been nearly scorched, I never worked so hard as on that night to save my friends, was on top of a building till my face almost blistered, but was drove off finally.

descending the canon, and reaching the place. The sight here presented was most extraordinary. Over a space of two hundred acres were scattered probably not less than a hundred springs and fountains, of every degree of temperature from cold to boiling, and of an immense variety of qualities. Pure water fountains were by the aide of soda, magnesia, chalybeate, calcareous and sulphur springs, cold and hot. In some places, immense jets of steam ascended to a great height, in others the white vapor only occasionally puffed above the surface of the water. One huge boiling caldron was named the Maelstrom; another beautiful jet was called Silliman's Fountain. . . . The river which flows through the valley, is called by the Professor, with great propriety, Pluton."

The old adage, its an ill wind blows no one any good has proved true in my case, the Fire has caused a great demand for Lumber, I shall therefore profit by others misfortunes, however I have had my share of ill luck. Have been very busy the past week selling Lumber & shall soon close up my business, hoping to get away from here next month.

The Magnolia arrived from China four days since, she had about 30 Chinese passengers, I dined onboard to day & was waited on, by some of the long tail Celestials, they are a curious race, one of them wrote for me in their hieroglyphics, & to see them eat with chop sticks is very amusing, A ship arrived to day with 270 Chinese, our streets are filled with them, nothing but Gold could draw them away from their native soil, and you are aware they are a very secluded race. Capt Merrow is much pleased with his trip to China, says there is much to interest & amuse one there, I am almost tempted to go back with him there, had I not been so long away from home & being anxious to return, should undoubtedly go over in the Magnolia. . . .

LETTER No. 33. SAN FRANCISCO, JUNE 29, 1851

I wrote you by Mr Field who left here on 15th June,¹⁰ that I somewhat expected to go to China, have now concluded to take this course, although I had engaged my passage in this steamer, but after conversing with several persons who had just crossed the Isthmus (Mr Wm Smith one of them) they advised me not to go as it is very sickly at this season, & under all the circumstances I do not think best to risk my health for 3 or 4 months longer absence. It will cost me nothing to go to China in the Magnolia, & possibly I may make it otherwise profitable. My intention is to take the overland route home (& probably be there before Christmas at *the farthest*), crossing the Red Sea, Isthmus of Suez, Mediterranean, through France & England, thence in the Steamer to New York. This is an opportunity that I never shall have again, think the information that can be acquired will be useful to me through life, though absence so long from home is painful to me, yet it will seem far dearer to me when I do return, & I shall be better satisfied to remain there in future. This is no rash act that I am doing, I have thought of it deliberately, & conversed with several of my friends on the subject, they all advise me to take this course, Mr Stark who went home this way two years since, says it is the most healthy & agreeable route a person can travel, to say nothing of the information to be acquired. Now Dear Mother, do not mourn, & think of me as one lost & gone astray, but keep up good spirits, December *will soon be around*, then I trust a kind Providence will unite our happy family circle, never to be severed, Think of me amongst the Celestials, or enjoying myself on classic ground, sailing on the beautiful waters of the Mediterranean, & gain'g all the information possible in France & England, then think how much I will be able to relate . . . I have worked hard since Ive been in this

10. This letter, dated June 13, 1851, which has been omitted, contains the following postscript:

"I enclose a little sketch of myself taken by a young man in the office, some time ago, you may like it better than the one I sent you before—also a scene in the Mines taken by the same person." The sketch referred to was apparently the one which we reproduce here.

country, but my labors have been lightened, by the thoughts of a speedy return *home*, it was a long time before I could bear to think of the route I am now going, I really need some recreation, the only drawback to my anticipations is the thought that you will be sorrowful, I therefore beseech you once more to be cheerful & trust all will be ordered for the best. I have many things to be thankful for, since I have been in this country, for one that my health has been good & that my property has been preserved from Fire, although it has been all around us several times, Since I sold out my Lumber yard, it has been out & my partner lost his all, though I was fortunate to escape myself, am very sorry for him, he is a fine man. One week ago today, a Fire broke out just above our old place, the Wind blowing very strong, it raged furiously, destroying a vast amount of property, in a part of the City, which had never been burnt before, thus within 4 weeks we have had two awful conflagrations, destroying the high hopes & anticipations of many, such is the uncertainty of life & property in San Francisco, I am tired of it, though I do not dislike the country and climate of California generally. . . .

Shall get away from here about 4th July, my next letters will probably be from the Sandwich Islds, where we shall touch going over.

July 1

This a sad finale for me to add, but I trust a kind Providence will spare my life, that we may be united in the Family circle ere many months elapse [sic]. Keep up good spirits Mother & with love to all I bid you an Affectionate, Adieu,

EDWARD¹¹

11. Letter No. 34, from Honolulu, July 20, 1851, and No. 35, written on board the Steamer *Pottinger*, off the coast of Portugal, Nov. 20, 1851, with a postscript added in London on Nov. 25, complete the series.

SAN BERNARDINO VALLEY BEFORE THE AMERICANS CAME

THE INDIAN MENACE DURING THE RANCHO PERIOD

FROM the time that holders of Mexican land grants in the San Bernardino valley began raising stock there, raids by Indians from the desert were the most serious difficulty with which the rancheros had to contend. Many documents containing reference to these Indian menaces exist. For example, José del Carmen Lugo, in his petition to Governor Alvarado, in 1841, for a grant of the San Bernardino Rancho—a former property of Mission San Gabriel on which the asistencia stood—states that ever since 1839, “in spite of difficulties and some danger we have remained at San Bernardino and continued the labors of agriculture.” The commissioners who were specially appointed by the governor to appraise the mission property left on the rancho, reported in February, 1842, that “at the examination . . . Don José del Carmen Lugo did not appear, because when we gave him notice, the robbers had stolen his horses and he was afoot.”¹ Benjamin D. Wilson, the first American to hold land near the San Bernardino valley, when testifying in court regarding a meeting he had in the fall of 1842 or the spring of 1843 with Juan Bandini, grantee of the Jurupa Rancho, on the portion of the rancho where later the Agua Mansa church was built, stated, “He,” meaning Bandini, “did not remain there after I left. It was not safe for a man to remain there alone.”²

PROTECTION BY COUNTER-ATTACKS

Efforts on the part of the rancheros to meet the constant desert Indian menace led to frequent semi-military excursions under the command of Spanish or Mexican ex-soldiers. Such an expedition was in prospect when on May 30, 1842, the two Judges of the courts in Los Angeles signed a letter to the Prefect there, saying:

Antonio Maria Lugo, commander of the reconnoitering party that went to the mountains reports that the Pah-Utes are liable to attack any day . . . Lugo asks to be authorized, at his own expense, and that of Bandini, Palomares and Williams, to attack the Indians, since it is known that they are stealing stock here and there, and that they are making arrows and completing other preparations for war.

A week later the Prefect replied:

“Inform the above mentioned Lugo that this Prefecture grants the request that he makes for himself, and in the name of the others.”³

PROTECTING STOCK BY OUTPOSTS

It was in an effort to head off Indian robbers from the desert that the English ex-sailor, Michael White, known among Californians as Miguel Blanco, was issued a grant, in 1843, to the Rancho Muscupiabe at the mouth of the Cajon

1. Transcript of Proceedings before U. S. Land Commission for California, Case No. 316, San Bernardino Rancho.

2. Sou. Cal. Colony Asso. vs. Miguel Bustamante et al. District Court, San Bernardino. Deposition of B. D. Wilson, Sept. 10, 1874.

3. Bancroft Library, (hereafter indicated by B. L.). Los Angeles Arch., Vol. 2, pp. 234-6.

Pass. Contrary to the prevailing requirement, Michael White was a man of small means, possessing but a few head of stock to place on his land.

White reveals his grounds for requesting the grant in his petition when he states:

This land which I ask . . . is the road by which the Indians enter and go out with stolen horses, as they have been doing for some time. If Your Excellency thinks proper to grant it to me, it will create an obstacle to the Indians making incursions with the freedom which till now they have enjoyed—I having on two occasions taken from them the horses they had stolen. . . .⁴

The granting of the Muscupiabe to White was largely due to the efforts of the larger rancheros in the San Bernardino valley and its environs. The petition and the *diseño*, or map, for the rancho were prepared by Juan Bandini;⁵ and Tiburcio Tapia, grantee of Cucamonga Rancho, furnished supplies for White's use while he occupied the Muscupiabe.⁶ It is not unreasonable to assume that the Lugos also lent their powerful aid to the project, though documentary evidence of their part is lacking.

Prior to the arrangement with White to occupy the land in the mouth of Cajon Pass, the owners on the larger ranchos had endeavored to induce Daniel Sexton to take the grant under a similar agreement, but he had declined the offer. The Lugos apparently offered Sexton a piece of land near the site of the present San Bernardino County courthouse as an inducement to undertake what White afterwards attempted to do.⁷ This Sexton is the man who later ran the saw mill in the Mill Creek canyon—in the fifties.⁸ A similar proposal had also been made to the well-known guide and mountain man, Pauline Weaver, but without success.

White remained on the Muscupiabe nine months, his family being with him six weeks of the time. He built a strong dwelling of heavy logs and earth on the east side of the tract in the mouth of what is now called Cable Canyon, with corrals for his stock near the house. The dwelling overlooked the trail through Cajon Pass, as well as the old Mohave Indian trail through Cable Canyon, a trail that was used frequently by Indian marauders. The Indians robbed White of all of his animals, and finally he was obliged to leave the place. With the departure of White, the Muscupiabe was no longer an obstacle in the way of Indian incursions.⁹

THIRD METHOD OF PROTECTING STOCK IN THE VALLEY

The third and the most effective measure adopted to combat Indian depredations was the establishment in the valley in 1843, of a colony of settlers from outside of California.

As an introduction to the history of this colony, it is necessary to speak of the relation to the San Bernardino valley of the New Mexican caravan trade; of Antonio Maria Lugo's attempt to colonize the valley with Californians, in the

4. Transcript of Proceedings before U. S. Land Commission for California, Case No. 561, Muscupiabe Rancho.

5. U. S. vs. Hancock, U. S. District Court for Northern District, Calif. Testimony of R. C. Hopkins.

6. *Ibid.* Testimony of Daniel Sexton.

7. *Ibid.* Testimony of Daniel Sexton.

8. Mill creek drains the south slope of Mt. San Bernardino and Mt. San Gorgonio, and flows into the Santa Ana river east of Redlands.

9. Muscupiabe Rancho Transcript (Note 4). Location of house was fixed by Samuel Martin who lived in Cable Canyon in 1873.

years 1839-41; of the Rowland-Workman party that came from New Mexico to Los Angeles in November, 1841; and of the party of immigrants brought from New Mexico by Santiago Martinez, in 1842.

It will be remembered that as early as 1824, while New Mexico was still a territory of Mexico, traders from St. Louis and other points were conducting caravans to Santa Fe and establishing trading centers in New Mexico and the adjoining State of Chihuahua. A considerable number of Americans and other foreigners were thus engaged. Jedediah Strong Smith, in 1826, found a route from the Utah Basin to Southern California; and trappers and traders from New Mexico following the lead of Smith but traveling different routes, eventually made their way to Los Angeles also. Thereupon began an exchange of products of New Mexico and California that developed into a trade of considerable magnitude. This trade, across the Great American desert, was carried on by annual caravans, and it had direct relations with the San Bernardino valley, though we know of but few documents confirming the fact.¹⁰

There is, however, ample testimony of later travelers across the desert—Mormons, explorers, immigrants to the gold fields, engineers seeking routes for railroads, desert freighters, and so forth, as to the way in which the grass covered bottom lands of the San Bernardino valley appealed to weary travelers. In the very nature of things, a similar appeal must have been made in the days of the caravans and earlier. We know that Jedediah Strong Smith, in 1827, camped in the bottom lands of the valley while he was breaking wild horses and collecting supplies from the Mission station at Old San Bernardino for the return trip to Salt Lake.¹¹ We know that later in this same year he returned from Salt Lake, left a sick member of his party at the Mission rancho, and secured a guide to take him part of the way to his comrades who were awaiting him in the valley of the San Joaquin.¹² We also know that in the days of the caravans, although their headquarters were in Los Angeles, they utilized every watering place and bit of pasture land between San Gabriel and the Cajon Pass. Men in the caravans drove bands of sheep from New Mexico to supply meat while on the march; they rode saddle horses; and pack animals bore the loads of blankets, serapes, and other woolen goods to be sold in California, and oriental goods on the return trip for the markets of New Mexico; horses and mules were purchased in California for sale in New Mexico. All these animals had to be fed and watered until the caravans were ready to start on their trips across the desert—a journey that began in April of each year.

Some of the men in the caravan trade traveled back and forth year after year, and became well known in California. Francisco Esteban Vigil, for example, apparently commanded the main caravan from 1833 to 1848—possibly longer. He is mentioned in the records of 1833, 1841, 1842 and 1848.¹³ Others, after one or two trips, brought their families and settled in California. A witness in a court

10. J. J. Warner, "Reminiscences of Early California, 1831-1846," in *Pub. Hist. Soc. Sou. Calif.* 1907-8.

11. *Missouri Hist. Soc.*, St. Louis, Harrison Rogers' Diary.

12. B. L. D. S. P. Vol. II, p. 35.

13. B. L. D. S. P. Vol. I, pp. 559-61, 1833, etc.

suit states that Lorenzo Trujillo, one of the caravan men, who settled in the San Bernardino valley, came several times to California from New Mexico.¹⁴ José del Carmen Lugo testified that he had known Trujillo since 1838.¹⁵ Trujillo brought his family in 1841,¹⁶ and remained here.

That the San Bernardino valley was an important point on the road to and from the desert cannot be doubted. In 1848, Vigil announced in Los Angeles that his caravan would leave San Bernardino on April 15.¹⁷ The valley was probably an annual point of rendezvous.

With so many arrivals and departures, and with stock to be cared for at all times during the year, it was very natural that some individual, even though he owned no land, should establish a camp in the San Bernardino valley where travelers could find rest and food for themselves and their animals. We are, therefore, not surprised by Michael White's testimony that in 1840 he "lived at Hypolitana's near Colton."¹⁸ while he told H. H. Bancroft's representative that in April of the same year he started from Los Angeles for New Mexico, going as far as Taos, with a New Mexico expedition carrying horses and mules.¹⁹ These apparently contradictory statements simply mean that the caravan in 1840 made San Bernardino its gathering place for men and animals, and Michael White camped at Hypolitana's place while brands and vents and bills of sale of stock were inspected, passports examined by the Mexican authorities, and other preparations for the journey completed.

From this reference to Hypolitana by White we know that some one called Hipólito, as his name would be written in Spanish, had settled in the valley as early as 1840. He may have been here several years earlier. It also seems probable that he was connected with the caravans.

It should be borne in mind that at the time of this trip of White to New Mexico the Lugos were engaged in what proved to be an unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony of Californians in the San Bernardino valley.²⁰ In 1838 and 1839, twenty-seven, or more, men had agreed to settle in the valley, but of these, only the Lugos established their residence. Diego Sepulveda joined them and built a home, but he was not one of the original number. The others had been discouraged by the continued depredations of Indians from the desert and mountains, and white bandits that infested the region. The Lugos were undaunted. The resourceful mind of Antonio Maria Lugo was at work. He had long realized the necessity, if stock raising were to endure, of establishing a settlement at some strategic point in the valley, the armed residents of which would constitute a defense against maraud-

14. P. J. Stockman vs. Riverside Land & Irrigation Co., Superior Court, San Bernardino. Testimony of Juan C. Sepulveda.

15. *Ibid.* Testimony of José del Carmen Lugo.

16. B. L. Los Ang. Arch. Vol. II, pp. 162-3. Report by John Rowland, Feb. 26, 1842.

17. B. L. D. S. P. Vol. VIII, p. 77. Vigil notice, 1848.

18. Stockman vs. R. L. & I. Co. Testimony of Michael White. The year named by White in his testimony was 1839, and he told Bancroft's representative that he returned to California in 1840, but Rowland's report (Note 16) of those who came with the Rowland-Workman party in 1841 contains White's name. White must have been off one year in his chronology.

19. B. L. "California All the Way Back to 1828," by Michael White, p. 22.

20. San Bernardino Rancho Transcript (Note 1).

ers. He knew how helpful the presence of a chapel and a priest would be to such a project. Therefore, in 1841, he petitioned the Governor to request the church authorities to have Fr. José Maria Zalvidéa assigned to service in the San Bernardino valley, offering to erect and maintain a chapel at his own expense. He also offered to provide, from his own funds, for the support of the priest in a style and manner befitting his rank.²¹ Father Zalvidéa had been in charge of San Gabriel twenty-two years before, and while there had established the mission rancho at Guachama, or, as we call it, Old San Bernardino. While at San Gabriel, he had baptized about two hundred Indians of the Guachama rancheria, the Indians making the long trip to the Mission for that purpose.²²

In his petition, Lugo referred to the neglected condition of these former neophytes, and to the religious needs of Californians living in the valley. He also called attention to the fact that near the point where the proposed chapel would be built, there were then living some unconverted Indians who might be induced to become Christians. The place Lugo had in mind as a location for the chapel becomes evident as we study his moves of the years immediately following.

What action, if any, was taken on this petition we do not know, beyond the fact that it was forwarded by the Prefect to the Governor with a favorable recommendation. Father Zalvidéa was not assigned to the San Bernardino valley, but a central settlement was formed there for defensive purposes, as we shall see, and some provision was doubtless made for its religious needs.

THE ROWLAND-WORKMAN PARTY

The separation of Texas from Mexico, in 1836, the establishment within the seceding territory of a republic controlled by Americans, the expedition of Texans under Colonel Wm. G. Cook to New Mexico in 1841 and their proposed occupation of all of New Mexico east of the Rio Grande—these moves created tension between the resident Mexican authorities and the American traders there. The traders were suspected of sympathy with the Texans, and relations became so strained that, in the fall of 1841, practically all Americans in New Mexico united in a party to migrate to California. They were under the leadership of John Rowland and William Workman, and traveled the caravan trail, bringing their money, movable property and such of their herds as was possible.²³

Prominent in this party were Benjamin D. Wilson, of whom we shall hear later; James D. Mead, a Virginian, who, Wilson says, afterwards became a bishop of the Episcopal Church; Dr. J. H. Lyman, a physician, to whom we owe our first description of a pre-historic village of Nevada; Dr. William Campbell, an ornithologist of note from Philadelphia, who was on a scientific expedition from some society; Thomas Lindsay, a mineralogist; Daniel Sexton, our Mill Creek sawmill man—formerly a carpenter and farmer born in Louisiana; and Michael White, previously mentioned as grantee of the Muscupiabe Rancho.²⁴

21. The charred petition is in the U. S. Public Survey Office, San Francisco.

22. B. L. Santa Barbara Arch. Diary of Fr. José Sanchez, 1821.

23. B. L. Narrative of B. D. Wilson.

24. Rowland's report (Note 16). Also Wilson's Narrative (Note 23).

Accompanying this party in the employ of the Americans, were a number of New Mexicans who for years had been making the trip back and forth with the caravans, caring for the stock and managing the pack trains. Prominent among them was Lorenzo Trujillo, already mentioned, a man of excellent character.

When, in November, 1841, the party reached Los Angeles, the members scattered. Most of the Americans were never connected with the history of the San Bernardino valley, but Benjamin D. Wilson, Daniel Sexton and Michael White made their homes here for varying periods of time. Rowland and Workman were Mexican citizens by naturalization. They obtained a grant of the Puente Rancho, and were in frequent contact with the San Bernardino valley, although not residents. Benjamin D. Wilson retained his American citizenship and so was ineligible to a grant; but he eventually married a daughter of Bernardo Yorba, and acquired land in the valley by purchase.

THE SANTIAGO MARTINEZ PARTY

In the Bancroft Library are abstracts of letters from a New Mexican named Santiago Martinez showing that a party of which he was commander, consisting of nineteen residents of New Mexico with their families, arrived in Los Angeles in December, 1842. These immigrants had come with the intention of settling in California.²⁵

We have already referred to the action of the rancheros in the San Bernardino valley in helping to locate Michael White in the Cajon Pass as a means of protection from Indians. While White was being so located they also developed a plan for establishing in the valley a colony formed of New Mexicans who had worked with the Santa Fe caravans and whose courage and skill in protecting stock from Indians had been proven. The plan of Antonio Maria Lugo for a populated center has been mentioned, and it is probable that the idea of placing New Mexicans in this center originated with him.

Late in 1842, or early in 1843, Benjamin D. Wilson began negotiations with Juan Bandini for the purchase of part of the Jurupa Rancho—the part on which the city of Riverside now stands, together with the adjacent river bottom to the west—a tract later known as the Rubidoux Ranch. Knowing the risk to unprotected herds, Wilson refused to conclude the deal unless it was certain that a protecting settlement of New Mexicans would be established.²⁶ Bandini offered to give a half league of land (about 2,200 acres) at the northern end of the Jurupa Rancho for this settlement, and Antonio Maria Lugo—father of the three Lugos who, with Diego Sepulveda, were grantees of the San Bernardino Rancho—at about the same time made a similar offer to Santiago Martinez of land on his rancho. The terms and conditions in both cases were that said New Mexicans should conduct themselves properly and repel any Indian invasions that might occur.²⁷

25. B. L. Los Ang. Arch. Vol. II, p. 300. Report of Santiago Martinez, Dec. 10, 1842.

26. Wilson's deposition (Note 2).

27. Stockman vs. R. L. & I. Co. Testimony of José del Carmen Lugo.

The New Mexicans, partly of the Rowland-Workman expedition but mainly of Santiago Martinez's company, accepted the Lugo offer first, and formed a settlement, in 1843, near the Santa Ana river, on the bluff just east of the present Colton municipal plunge. José del Carmen Lugo testified, in 1877, in a certain lawsuit,²⁸ that Lorenzo Trujillo "joined with some New Mexicans and settled near the depot in 1843." This *depot* could mean only the Southern Pacific station that had been erected a short time before at Colton. The settlement thus formed was usually known as Politana; in records the name is written Politan, Apolitan, Land of Apolitan, Napolitan, Epolitana, Hypolitana. It was very probably the place where Hipólito had been living, in 1840, when White stopped with him, and the place Antonio Maria Lugo had in mind as the site of his settlement when he asked for the assignment of Fr. Zalvidéa to the valley.

The settlers constructed adobe houses near each other, probably for the sake of protection. In 1927, Mr. John Ralphs, Sr., of San Bernardino, and Mr. Charles Vaughn, of Colton, on different occasions, pointed out the spot where they remembered the ruins of these buildings had stood. They designated practically the same spot. Charles Vaughn had played among them when a boy. He said the ruins then represented what was left of eight houses. John Ralphs supposed that they had been parts of one large building. Perhaps the dwellings were connected by an outer wall for defense.

The occupants of these houses brought water from a swampy tract on what is now Mill Street some distance west of Mt. Vernon Avenue, a tract where the city of Colton pumps its domestic water supply from deep wells. Then water rose to the surface and supplied a constant stream of about fifty inches.

A portion of the ditch that conveyed water from the swamp to the New Mexican settlement was visible until 1928, when subdividing and grading along Mt. Vernon Avenue obliterated it. It crossed the ground where the San Bernardino Valley Junior College buildings now stand.²⁹

A census of Los Angeles and territory under its jurisdiction, taken in 1844—the original sheets of which are in the office of the City Clerk in Los Angeles—shows that sixty-seven persons born in New Mexico were then living on the San Bernardino Rancho. In addition, there were five children born in Los Angeles after their New Mexican parents reached California, and one American. The population of Politana was therefore seventy-three.³⁰

28. *Ibid.*

29. The San Bernardino Valley Junior College is located on a slight elevation midway between San Bernardino and Colton.

30. There were twelve heads of families residing at Politana, listed in this census: Santiago Martinez, Sixto Martinez, Juan Martinez, Miguel Belarde, Ramon Belarde, Feliciano Valdez—a widow, Apolito Espinosa, Juan José Jaramillo, Antonio Garcia, Rafael Blanco, Lorenzo Trujillo, and Luis Slover. The American, Slover, is found in other records sometimes with the given name Isaac and sometimes with the name Cristobal.

The entire New Mexican population counted in this census was distributed as follows:

San Bernardino Rancho, as noted above.....	67
Puente Rancho, with Rowland & Workman.....	10
Rincon Rancho, with David W. Alexander.....	7
Los Angeles Pueblo, headquarters of the caravan trade.....	32

Total..... 116

The stay of the New Mexicans at Politana was short.³¹ The Lugos established a rodeo center on the ridge near the north end of the land they had allotted to the colonists—the ridge on which the Junior College buildings are located—and Vicente Lugo, who made his headquarters there, withheld the water from the settlers. As a result, after two years on the San Bernardino rancho, most of them abandoned the location and moved, in 1845, to the tract referred to in the records as the “Bandini Donation” that had been offered them by Juan Bandini—where they secured land in severalty, with abundance of water for irrigation.³²

After the New Mexicans left Politana, on the San Bernardino rancho, the Lugos placed the Cahuilla Indian chief, Juan Antonio, on the vacated tract, and he and his warriors proved very effective in protecting the Lugo stock. Juan Antonio did not care to occupy the adobe houses on the bluff, and located his rancheria on the ridge near the headquarters of Vicente Lugo, and near the settlement of the unconverted Indians to whom Antonio Maria Lugo had referred in his petition of 1841.

The abandoned adobes remained merely as landmarks. In 1851, when the Los Angeles County Court of Sessions defined the public road from San Gabriel to San Bernardino, it described the road in part as running “by the old Pueblo of the New Mexicans, known as the land of Apolitan;”³³ but the deserted settlement seems then to have been so far forgotten that the name, Apolitan, when used popularly, was applied to the rodeo place of Vicente Lugo and the Indian rancheria on the ridge, at the northern end of the tract that had been occupied by the New Mexicans.³⁴

The establishment by the New Mexicans of new colonies at Agua Mansa and San Salvador, as Trujillo called the settlement around his farm on the Jurupa Rancho, three and four miles farther down the valley, and the locating of the efficient chief, Juan Antonio, and his forty or more warriors near the site of Politana, gave the stock men of the San Bernardino valley better protection from marauding Indians and white adventurers than they had ever known before.

HOW DID THE NAME POLITANA ORIGINATE?

One answer to the above query may be found in the testimony given in a lawsuit, by David Seely, one of the pioneers of the San Bernardino valley. Mr. Seely came to the valley with Pomeroy’s train of gold seekers in 1850, and in 1851 he

31. Santiago Martinez remained at Politana longer than the others, but David Garcia, born in 1849 in Agua Mansa, and still living (1931) on a portion of the New Mexican colony lands, says that Martinez finally moved to Los Nogales Rancho, west of the present city of Pomona. *L. Rubidoux vs. Teodoro Trujillo*, County Court, San Bernardino. Testimony of Santiago Martinez, Jan. 6, 1860, filed as an exhibit in *Stockton vs. R. L. & I. Co.*

32. Testimony of Lugo (Notes 26 and 27).

33. Minutes Los Angeles Court of Sessions, May 19, 1851.

34. This shifting of the name is indicated in a clipping from the *Los Angeles Star* for June 7, 1851, which contains the following: “APOLITAN—This rancheria is the residence of Juan Antonio, and his tribe of Cahuilla Indians, who killed Irving and his party on the 26th ult. It is situated on the Rancho of San Bernardino. Juan Antonio has always been considered a well disposed and friendly chief. About eight years ago he was induced by the Mexican authorities of this county to settle at Apolitan to serve as a guard against the depredations of the horse-stealing Indians, and land was furnished him by the owners of the Rancho San Bernardino. He had written instructions from the Mexican authorities to kill Indian thieves and take away the stolen property. This authority was confirmed by Hon. Stephen C. Foster, acting as American Alcalde of this district, and had been confirmed by all the previous local authorities.”

served as captain of a company of Mormon immigrants from Salt Lake City. He played a prominent part in the purchase by the Mormons of the San Bernardino Rancho from the Lugos. His testimony in a suit in the United States District Court in San Francisco³⁵ regarding the origin of the name of the settlement of the New Mexicans on the San Bernardino Rancho follows:

Polito was the head of a Mexican colony that came up from New Mexico, near Taos, and brought out a big company with him and established a settlement here on the Rancho San Bernardino. The Lugos gave him permission for a certain length of time to live on the rancho, and the place where he settled took its name from Polito and they called it Politan.

Afterwards Don Juan [Bandini], a Mexican, granted them a portion of the Jurupa Rancho, and gave them what is now known as Agua Mansa, and then they left this "Politan," and then the Indians took possession of it. They went onto their grounds and occupied it until it was purchased by the Mormons, and then it was vacated by the Indians.

This testimony of David Seely is not that of one who was on the ground when the colony was established. He is even seemingly incorrect in naming Polito rather than Santiago Martinez as the man who brought the company of colonists from New Mexico; but Judge Benjamin Hayes, referring to the first colonists—that is, the members of the Martinez party, says:

"The people of this settlement, that is to say, the original stock, in the year 1841, were induced to emigrate to California by some of the New Mexican traders of that day."³⁶

All that is needed to make David Seely's testimony wholly correct is evidence that the Hipólito mentioned by Michael White was the man employed by Lugo and the other rancheros to recruit the Martinez party. Nothing would have been more logical than that he should have been the man. In so doing he would naturally make the trip to New Mexico and return with Martinez.

David Seely's testimony probably reflects accurately the common understanding among Mormon settlers as to the origin of the name of the New Mexican colony that had formerly existed on a part of the property they had acquired.

WHO WAS HIPÓLITO OR POLITO?

One obtains an impression from the testimony of Michael White and also from the testimony of David Seely that the man Hipólito or Polito, mentioned by them, was one of the old caravan men from New Mexico who settled in the San Bernardino valley in the days when the caravans were important in California history; but there is an element of uncertainty in the problem that cannot be eliminated without more positive evidence than we now possess.

A tradition exists among descendants of the original colonists still living between Colton and Riverside, that Hipólito was an Indian—some say the chief of the rancheria that was located near the site of the present Junior College buildings. We can only speculate about this tradition. Benjamin D. Wilson, one-time employer of Lorenzo Trujillo, a prominent member of the New Mexican settlement at Politana, referred to Trujillo as "a civilized Comanche Indian;"³⁷ and Judge

35. U. S. vs. Hancock (Note 5). Testimony of David Seely.

36. *Pioneer Notes from Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes*, edited by Marjorie Tisdale Wolcott, Los Angeles, 1929, p. 271.

37. Narrative of B. D. Wilson (Note 16).

Benjamin Hayes wrote of him as "Don Lorenzo Trujillo, one of the finest representatives of the pure pueblo Indians of Taos."³⁸ While differing as to tribe they agree as to his race. If we recall how many of the New Mexicans of the days of the caravan trade were largely of Indian blood, we can understand how Hipólito, like Lorenzo Trujillo, might have belonged to the red race and so have given rise to the tradition that he was an Indian.

As to his having been chief of the *rancheria*, and therefore a California Indian, we should remember that Judge Hayes, who associated extensively with the Spanish families of California in the 50's, and who married a Spanish lady as his second wife, wrote several times of the man in question as "Don Hipólito," just as he wrote of "Don Lorenzo Trujillo." Surely the Spanish title "Don" would not have been prefixed to the name of a chief of a California Indian *rancheria* by anyone accustomed to the viewpoint of the Spaniards.

Benjamin D. Wilson, in testimony given in one of the numerous suits growing out of the New Mexican claims on the Bandini Donation, named Hipólito Espinosa as one of the original colonists.³⁹ Since there was only one man among them bearing the Christian name Hipólito, it is entirely possible that he was the person to whom Michael White and David Seely referred. Espinosa was a member of Santiago Martinez's party in 1842.⁴⁰ If we may rely on the testimony of one witness, Espinosa and three other future colonists of the valley were stopping in the Santa Ana bottoms in 1840.⁴¹ Espinosa was prominent in civic affairs at Agua Mansa, or San Salvador, as the settlement on the Jurupa Rancho was sometimes called.⁴² When Bandini, in 1845, "having ceded a part of his land for the benefit of some men from New Mexico now represented by Lorenzo Trujillo," appeared in court in Los Angeles to validate the deed, Hipólito Espinosa was with him as a recognized substitute for Trujillo.⁴³

The Supervisors of San Bernardino county, in advertising the voting place in San Salvador precinct in the election of 1855, designated "the house of *Polito* Espinosa;" and in 1857, they named "the residence of *Apolito* Espinosa."

38. *Pioneer Notes*, Hayes, pp. 272-75.

39. Deposition of Wilson (Note 2).

40. Census of Los Angeles, 1844 (Note 30).

41. José Maria Avilar, a resident of Los Angeles, and a witness in *Stockman vs. R. L. & I. Co.*, testified: "Was first in Jurupa in 1838; was there in 1839, 1840 and 1847. Robidoux was there in 1847. In 1840, Epolito Espinosa, Jaramillo, R. Blea and Trujillo lived in Agua Mansa."

42. There is some confusion in regard to the names Jurupa, San Salvador and Agua Mansa. *Jurupa* was the original Indian name for the valley extending along the Santa Ana river from the present Colton to the south—the valley which formed part of the tract granted to Juan Bandini in 1838 as Jurupa Rancho.

When the New Mexicans left Politana, part of them joined Trujillo, settling on lands in the Bandini Donation on the southeast side of the Santa Ana; and to this colony was given the name *San Salvador*. The others built their homes on the northwest side of the river on a small clear stream flowing from a cienega south of Slover mountain, and very appropriately named their settlement Agua Mansa—Gentle Water.

The name *San Salvador* was destined to become much more inclusive than Agua Mansa. Under the leadership of Trujillo, an adobe church was built, in 1852, in his settlement and the parish of San Salvador was formed—a parish which included Agua Mansa. Unfortunately the church rested on quicksand, and it collapsed the day after its walls were completed. A new structure was then erected on firm ground in Agua Mansa. In ecclesiastical records, however, this new church is known as San Salvador.

In 1855, the San Bernardino county supervisors included the two New Mexican settlements of Jurupa and some adjacent territory to the south in a voting precinct named San Salvador. On the other hand, these two colonies and the old pueblo at Politana on the San Bernardino Rancho, are sometimes found mentioned in court proceedings under the general name *Jurupa*.

43. Document dated May 2, 1845, executed before Vicente Sanchez, 1st Alcalde and Judge of the 1st Instance, Los Angeles, California. Vol. 776, Supreme Court Records, State Library, Sacramento.

Hipólito Espinosa and Santiago Martinez were of the same age,⁴⁴ and they were a generation older than most of the original colonists. In view of the lack of evidence to the contrary, we feel justified in assuming that Hipólito Espinosa was the "Polito" after whom Politana was named.

WAS THERE A CAPILLA AT POLITANA IN MISSION DAYS?

One of the interesting problems in the history of the San Bernardino valley has been that of the "capilla" which, according to tradition, was established in Mission days at a place called Politana.

In the hope of gaining some definite data relative to the origin of this tradition, an appeal was made to Father Juan Caballeria y Collell, then living in Barcelona, Spain, but formerly a pastor of the Catholic Church in San Bernardino.⁴⁵ He, at one time, made extensive investigations into the early history of the San Bernardino valley, and several letters came from him which contain interesting and valuable information.

One important bit is the statement that in the course of his investigations he found a record in a book at San Gabriel that showed when and where the name San Bernardino had been assigned to the valley, and in which reference was made to a "capilla" there. He writes that this record

described how Fr. Dumetz founded a Capilla on the Guachama rancheria on May 20, 1810, under the advocacy of San Bernardino de Siena, in a place "Medianero entre este mision y la serrania. Le denominamos San Bernardino en honor del Santo de esta dia." (Intermediate between this Mission and the mountain country. We named it San Bernardino in honor of the Saint of this day.)⁴⁶

The date of the naming of the valley—May 20, 1810—is definite and calls for no discussion. The place—the Guachama rancheria—is definitely located in three known Spanish documents—(1) in the report of the Comisario-Prefecto Fr. Mariano Payéras to the Commissioner of the newly established Mexican Government, in 1822; (2) in the diary of Fr. José Sanchez kept during a journey he made from San Diego to San Gabriel, in 1821; (3) in a letter from Fr. José Sanchez to Governor Argüello, in 1824. Fr. Payéras reported to the Mexican Commissioner, in 1822:

"In the year 1819, at the request of the unchristianized Indians of the place they call Guachama and which we call San Bernardino, on the road to the Colorado, . . . we began the introduction of cattle raising and farming, in order to induce the natives to become Christians . . ."⁴⁷

In the diary of Fr. Sanchez, under the date of September 26, 1821, while writing of a day's journey from San Jacinto to San Bernardino, he says:

"We ascended and then descended the sierra with much trouble, passing through a cañada [San Timoteo]. After a little while we forced our way to the west, turning on coming out, to proceed northward, and in a short time arrived at San

44. *Census of Los Angeles Co., 1850*, published by M. H. & M. R. Newmark, 1929.

45. Since this paper was written *The Tidings*, Los Angeles, announced the death of Father Juan Caballeria y Collell in January, 1932.

46. Father Caballeria wrote that the book disappeared from the Mission sometime after he examined it.

47. B. L. Santa Barbara Arch. Vol. III, p. 268.

Bernardino. So we called the place, as our people do, while the natives call it Guachinga."⁴⁸

In Fr. Sanchez's letter of January 27, 1824, to Governor Argüello, he says: "We have learned that the expeditionary force commanded by Don José Maria Estudillo, combined with the troop of Captain Don José Romero, have arrived at San Gorgonio on their retreat, coming by the road that passes through Guach'na, otherwise known as San Bernardino—a rancho of this mission."⁴⁹

The variations in the spelling of the name of the rancheria in these quotations will be noted. Such variations are common when men of other races try to write Indian names phonetically, and copyists are possibly responsible for some of the differences. Without doubt, however, each of these documents refers to the same rancheria. It will also be noted that each of the quotations identifies the Guachama rancheria as the headquarters of the San Bernardino Rancho—established by the Fathers of San Gabriel on lands that afterwards came to be known as Old San Bernardino.

Judge Benjamin Hayes, who was familiar with the valley as early as 1851, and who was a close student of Indian affairs, also refers to Guachama in an article describing the San Bernardino valley as follows:

"The Indians called the place where the old Mission buildings are, Guachama . . . José del Carmen Lugo resided at Guachama."⁵⁰

Later, and after further study of Indian words and place names, referring to the Cahuillas and Serranos who resided in the San Bernardino valley, he wrote:

"Formerly the Mission of San Gabriel had amongst them a subordinate establishment, which was broken up by an insurrection about the year 1834, and was never restored. Its site they called *Gua-cha-na*; actually now occupied by the improvements of Dr. Ben. Barton."

In the light of these documentary references, the location of Guachama, where the "capilla" was founded, is beyond dispute. But a question does arise as to the nature of the "capilla." The word naturally suggests a building, more or less permanent, devoted to religious services. Spaniards, however, are known to have used the term to designate a place temporarily arranged for the holding of even a single service, use being made perhaps of a rude cross, candles, and such other accompaniments of the mass as a priest could carry on a trip. For example, in 1819, when Lieut. Gabriel Moraga led his men into the desert on a punitive expedition against the Mohave Indians and found the remains of seven neophytes who had been killed above the Victorville narrows, the expedition halted while the chaplain, Fr. Nuez, gave the slain a Christian burial. The day happened to be the first Sunday in Advent, and Fr. Nuez writes in his diary that in the morning he blessed a large Cross which the entire company venerated, after which he celebrated Holy Mass and preached a sermon suited to the day. The remains of the neophytes were then "placed in the *capilla* with two candles burning," and in

48. B. L. *Ibid.* Diary of Fr. Sanchez (Note 22).

49. B. L. Archbishop's Arch. Vol. IV, Pt. 2, p. 129.

50. *Pioneer Notes*, Hayes, p. 279.

the afternoon they were borne in procession to the spot where they had been killed, and buried at the foot of the Cross which had been carried along.⁵¹ Fr. Englehardt, in his account of the incident uses the expression "temporary chapel" as the equivalent of "*capilla*."

We feel that in the case of the "*capilla*" founded by Fr. Dumetz, and in the light of conditions in the San Bernardino valley at that time, the word must have referred to a place arranged for a temporary service and not to a building. The conditions become apparent to us in reading the report for 1809-1810 of Fr. Estevan Tapis, President of the California Missions.⁵² We realize that traveling in the San Bernardino valley then must have been a dangerous business. Fr. Tapis reports that desert Indians were unusually hostile at that time, that ranchos were being raided, and that, in November, 1810, eight hundred Indians, mostly Mohaves from the Colorado river, advanced as far as the San Gabriel river with the avowed intention of annihilating the missions at San Gabriel and San Fernando, and the pueblo of Los Angeles. They had taken live stock from the ranchos along their way, and troops from the presidios at San Diego and Santa Barbara had been sent to protect the lives and property of the inhabitants of the region—between San Gabriel and the desert. On one occasion three thousand stolen sheep were recovered from the Indians by these presidial soldiers. The service record of Corporal José Antonio Pico shows that in 1810 he led fourteen expeditions against the Indians in the mountains adjacent to San Gabriel.⁵³

There was urgent need that missions and military guards be placed in the interior. The civilizing influences of the missions along the coast were being constantly weakened by the demoralizing actions of marauding Indians from the interior valleys, the mountains, and the deserts. Both church and civil authorities realized the situation, and the most noticeable activity of Spanish officials in California from 1806 to 1821 was the exploring of the interior of the Territory in search of sites suitable for new missions and presidios. Missionaries, with and without military escorts, traversed the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys and the inland valleys of the Southland. In 1806, Fr. José Maria Zalvidéa, on such a trip, traveled along the desert side of the San Gabriel mountains to the Mohave river, and ascended that stream to Horsethief canyon,⁵⁴ which led him to the summit near the point where the Santa Fe railroad crosses. Descending the slope he entered Cajon canyon at the present Camp Cajon, and made his way through the northwestern part of the San Bernardino valley to Mission San Gabriel.

If Fr. Dumetz accompanied a party to the San Bernardino valley in 1810, he was undoubtedly participating in this great exploratory movement. He was a very old man then. He was in his fortieth year of mission service in California—a term greater than that of any other missionary then in this field. Since 1806 he had been living at San Gabriel as a supernumerary, incapacitated by age and

51. B. L. Santa Barbara Arch. Vol. IV, pp. 137-149. Diary of Fr. Joaquin Pasqual Nuez.

52. B. L. *Ibid.* Vol. X, pp. 299-301.

53. B. L. D. S. T. Ben. Mil. Vol. XLIII, pp. 11-12.

54. So designated on U. S. topographic map, California, Hesperia Quadrant. Summit valley, however, is the correct name, Horsethief being the name of a canyon entering Summit valley from the southwest at common corner of sections 25, 26, 35, 36 T. 3 N. R. 5 W., S. B. M.

infirmity for administrative work.⁵⁵ In February, 1810, he was reported as being too ill to assist in administering sacraments to the sick, although the two regular missionaries were overwhelmed by the demands upon them.⁵⁶ Only one baptism is recorded at San Gabriel as having been performed by him in the year 1810. His long life ended in January, 1811. However, we remember the way in which missionaries disregarded bodily infirmities, and it is of course possible that the party coming to the San Bernardino valley was headed by Fr. Dumetz. It would have been only fitting that to him should have been assigned the honor of dedicating the site of a new field of mission activity to be entered at a time when conditions would permit.

The following quotation relative to the establishment of a mission in the San Bernardino valley at this time, from Fr. Presidente Tapis' report is significant:

"No place in the direction of the Colorado river suitable for founding a mission having been discovered, and such a foundation being impossible without a strong garrison, it would be very expedient to at least enlarge the guard at San Gabriel."

This quotation alone shows the impossibility of there having been established a settlement, to say nothing of a permanent chapel, anywhere in the San Bernardino valley in 1810.

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55. Engelhardt, *San Gabriel*, p. 288.

56. B. L. Santa Barbara Arch. Vol. IX, p. 184. Fr. Miguel & Fr. Zalvidea to the Fr. Presidente, Estevan Tapis.

A CENSUS OF CALIFORNIA SPANISH IMPRINTS,
1833-1845.

EVEN as the origin of printing in the fifteenth century, and its first use in the new world at Mexico City in the sixteenth, are clouded by obscurity, so the introduction of printing into Alta California is among the forgotten details of a period that seems more than a hundred years removed. No one knows what was the first piece of printing done in California or where, when, and by whom it was executed. Nor is there knowledge today of how or when the first printing press reached the then distant shores of the Mexican territory which became the State of California. Yet the subject is absorbing to all those interested in the history of California, or of printing in America.

The paucity of contemporary source material concerning the first printing equipment operated within the State, and the lack of dependability in secondary sources, is startling. Many newspaper and magazine articles have appeared but nearly all must be classified as myths or as unsubstantiated tradition. One notable exception is the narrative contained in the long history of California newspapers, attributed to Edward C. Kemble, which appeared in the *Sacramento Union* for December 25, 1858, and was reprinted in book form by the Plandome Press, New York, in 1927. Unfortunately, Kemble did not give the sources of his information, nor was this to be expected under the circumstances. However, when it is recalled that Kemble at one time owned and operated the first printing press, that he was personally acquainted with, and a friend of, many of the persons who had operated it before him, and that he made every effort to preserve the history of the early newspapers of the State, his statements command respect. Strange as it may seem, his article has been completely ignored by nearly every writer on the subject since.

To the serious student, however, Kemble's few unsupported paragraphs in the introduction to a study on another subject are a very unsatisfactory answer to his questions. The student is forced to the realization that the chief sources of dependable information are the printed pieces themselves that were produced by the first printers. Fortunately, a bibliography of these exists.

Mr. Robert E. Cowan had opportunities that are not available today to the typographical investigator. It was his privilege to examine the departmental archives of the Spanish and Mexican periods of California's history at the United States Surveyor General's office before they were destroyed by fire in 1906, as well as the collection of Hubert Howe Bancroft before it was removed from its original home. He earned the gratitude of all later students by his foresight in taking notes on all the local Spanish imprints he found, and by issuing, in 1919, his pamphlet, *A Bibliography of the Spanish Press of California*.

Mr. Cowan did not claim completeness for his bibliography, and he specifically excluded all printed sealed-paper headings and letterheads, though he stated that these were printed in great number and variety. Nevertheless, as the archives probably contained copies of all the printed official documents, and as the Ban-

croft Collection is known to have contained pieces that apparently never reached the University of California, Berkeley, Mr. Cowan's list reached a very high degree of completeness. Intensive search during the past two years has resulted in the addition of but nine items to his list, all of very slight textual importance. Seven of the latter are blank forms, several of which Mr. Cowan knew, but which he did not include as they carry no imprint and as he was not interested in them from a purely typographical standpoint.

On the basis of Mr. Cowan's bibliography, and of the pieces that have been located and examined at this time, the accompanying check list and census has been prepared. The additional items referred to have been included in order that the present list might embody all known imprints other than sealed-paper headings and letterheads. It is planned to make the latter the subject of another paper. Of the items listed by Mr. Cowan, it has, to date, been impossible to locate eight, only one of which he had not seen. It is hoped that any one who can add either to the list of imprints or to the number of located copies listed will make this information known.

As the following is merely a check list, brief descriptions are included only of those titles not in Mr. Cowan's bibliography. Those which Mr. Cowan described are marked [C].

The earliest known piece of printing that might possibly have been printed in California is a letterhead for the "Comisaria Subalterna, y Aduana Maritima Provisionales del Puerto de Monterrey," on a document now in the Bancroft Library, dated August 25, 1830. It is set in capitals, in four lines, over a line of unit ornaments of three varieties.

There is also a letterhead for the "Comandancia General Ynspectora de la Alta California" on a document signed by Agustin V. Zamorano, dated September 18, 1830, which is now in the Spanish Archives of the City of San Jose. This is set in capitals and lower-case, in two lines.

With the type and ornaments used in these two letterheads were printed a considerable variety of other letterheads and sealed-paper headings. The earliest printed date found is in a sealed-paper heading, "Habilitado provisionalmente por la Comisaria principal de la alta California para el año de 1831. [Victoria, Bandini]." There is a document dated May 15, 1831, on paper with this heading, in the Bancroft Library.

Possibly the equipment with which these headings were printed is that referred to by Kemble when he wrote—

"In 1825, when he [Zamorano] came from Mexico as Echeandía's secretary he brought a small seal press and an alphabet sufficient for Government stamp purposes. Its utmost capacity was a hundred words, and we do not hear that it was applied to any other use than for official seals."

The first item listed in the accompanying census, Governor Figueroa's announcement of his arrival, dated January 16, 1833, was probably printed with this equipment. As no copy is known to exist today, this cannot, of course, be determined with certainty. It is within the limit of capacity set by Kemble, and Ban-

croft, in his description of it, specifically states that it was not printed from the type later used by Zamorano. Bancroft calls this the first use of type in California.¹

The type from which these headings were printed belongs in design to the classification known to typographical students and printers as "old-style." It is a sturdy, round face with no hair lines, heavy serifs, and was evidently of Spanish origin. As the material was badly worn and the printing poorly executed, there is little possibility of identifying the design and so of tracing its source.

The second piece listed in the census is the announcement, by Zamorano, of the establishment of a printing office at Monterey. This is dated with the year only, namely, 1834. The first full date printed is August 6, 1834, on the fourth item of the accompanying check list. There is, however, in the Bancroft Library, a document dated July 28, 1834, with a heading printed in the new type. So the new printing equipment was, at the latest, set up and in use by that date.

The new type was, in design, of the group termed "modern" by typographical students. It was a highly modelled face with a decided vertical feeling, many hair lines, and long, sharp serifs. Without question, it was not of Spanish origin. It appears to have been a newspaper face cast in the United States.

The first shipment of materials to reach Monterey seems to have been limited in extent as regards type. There was available but one size of text letter—small pica, not bourgeois as stated by Kemble—with capitals, small capitals, and figures of the same size. There were, also, braces in two sizes, line units, a plentiful supply of dollar marks, and two or three varieties of small decorative units on small pica bodies. There was no italic. And there were no accented letters.

To overcome the lack of the latter, an effort was made to use the accented letters from the old-style font mentioned above. This, with the additional fact that some of the decorative materials used in printing the earlier headings are found on the title pages of some of the small books later printed with the new equipment, indicate that, by this time at least, Zamorano was the owner of the old material and probably the printer of the sealed-paper headings and letterheads described above.

The accented letters of the old-style font were larger in body size than the new type. This made their use with the new font difficult and they were soon discarded. After the third item on the accompanying check list, the only accented letter used was the Spanish "n" (ñ), which was made by shaving the top of the type and laying above a comma on its side.

With the pieces dated January 2, 1836 (numbers 10, 11, and 11a of the check list) it becomes apparent that a new hand was operating the press. The pieces printed before that date are all set solid, their composition is fair, and their presswork rather poor. The pieces dated January 2, 1836, are the first to be leaded and are obviously the product of a more skilled workman. In this second group, the composition is good and the presswork greatly improved.

The identity of the workman who first operated the press, and of his successor, remains hidden.

1. Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *History of California*, III, pp. 240-241.

Sometime in the spring of 1836, additional typographical material arrived which greatly augmented the facilities of this pioneer printing office. The first use of the new additions was in Governor Chico's *Discursos*, of May 20 and May 27. There was then available a full range of accented letters, small pica italic—capitals and lower-case, large shaded titling capitals, smaller double-shaded titling capitals, five or six additional varieties of decorative units, a woodcut of the Mexican eagle, and a few wood engravings. The second shipment must have equalled in size, if it did not exceed, the first. No evidence has been found that additions were again made to the equipment.

Agustin V. Zamorano apparently retained control of the printing office, which seems to have been his personal property, until November 4, 1836, when the success of the revolution headed by Juan Bautista Alvarado and José Castro sent all the personnel of the old departmental government into exile. The printing office became the property of the new government, either by purchase or, as seems more probable, by confiscation, and Santiago Aguilar was placed in charge. Judging from the appearance and execution of the printed pieces that carry Aguilar's imprint, he was not one of the printers who had worked for Zamorano. His work is not so well executed as that of the printer he displaced, but it is more ambitious in plan.

Aguilar made the mistake of giving his aid and sympathy to an abortive revolt, against the authority of Alvarado, that broke out at Monterey on July 1, 1837. This attempted revolution lasted but a few days and its chief result appears to have been the loss by Aguilar of his position as Public Printer and his banishment to the northern frontier, where, after a few weeks, he received a passport and returned to Mexico.

Shortly, thereafter, Comandante General M. G. Vallejo moved the press and its equipment to his headquarters at Sonoma. Again a new printer appears in charge. Except that he signed a note in the little book, *Botica General De Los Remedios Esperimentados*, 1838 (number 50), with the initials "L. R.," his identity remains hidden. The pieces produced at Sonoma are characterized by narrow measures, wide leading, and the use of a very heavy impression with great "squeeze," apparently to make up for the lack of ink. All were poorly executed. The last known piece printed at Sonoma is dated August 15, 1839.

The press then made the trip back to Monterey and there, on March 1, 1840, was printed a broadside proclamation by Governor Alvarado. Another, undated, was issued about April 26. These two items were well executed; possibly they were done by the second of the two printers who had worked for Zamorano. These two groups of pieces—this and the work of Zamorano's second printer—have some characteristics in common and are technically much the best of all the work done.

From late in April, 1840 until the spring of 1843, the press seems to have been idle. To this period, however, belongs the death notice of José Tiburcio Castro, dated San Juan Bautista, July 10, 1841, number 57 of the census. It is poorly executed and has the appearance of having been done by an amateur. No printed

sealed-paper headings have been found between those printed for the *bienio*, 1840 and 1841, and those for the single year, 1843. The sealed-paper then used was either that of an earlier period, with a manuscript *rehabilitado*, or paper with the entire validation in manuscript. The listing of Ripalda's *Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana*, Monterey, 1842, in both Mr. Cowan's bibliography and in this census (number 58) is based solely on a reference by Bancroft in *Essays and Miscellany*.² It is believed that this reference is a mistake, for it appears extremely doubtful that any such piece was printed in the year 1842.

On January 9, 1843, and again on March 15, the new governor, Brigadier General Manuel Micheltorena, wrote, from Los Angeles, to Manuel Castañares, Administrator of the Custom House at Monterey, inquiring as to the condition of the press at that place. Castañares replied under date of May 6, 1843, that the equipment consisted "of a press, in good condition, requiring small repairs, and four boxes of type illy supplied" and that "in company with the Director of the Establishment of Education, Henri Cambuston" he would undertake the operation of the press "until an intelligent person be found for that purpose."³

In the United States District Court, during the trial of the case arising from the Limantour land grants, Cambuston testified that Castañares taught him how to set type and that he acted as Public Printer during the remainder of the time the press was in operation, except for a period of about a year during which he was away from Monterey.⁴ The items printed by Cambuston are of great interest textually but all are miserably executed.

The period from April 17, 1844 to March, 1845, during which, as he testified, Cambuston was away, coincides closely with the period in which are found the pieces that carry the imprint of José de la Rosa. Although de la Rosa's work was better than Cambuston's, it does not rank very high in technical excellence. Judging from the pieces that carry his imprint, it appears doubtful if he, in spite of his many statements in later years, and the many eulogistic newspaper articles about him, operated the press at any other time. Only contemporary evidence can be relied upon in connection with him, for his accomplishments grew in his memory as he approached the great age of one hundred and two years at which he died. His chief claim to remembrance, of which he apparently never spoke, is that a letterhead printed by him for Thomas O. Larkin as United States Consul at Monterey appears to be the first printing in English in California.

The last item on the check list is the proclamation of March 12, 1845, which reported the events leading to Governor Micheltorena's expulsion. This was probably printed by Cambuston.

The new governor, Pio Pico, made Los Angeles his capital and no further use was found for the old printing press at Monterey. The equipment remained in storage until it was uncovered by Colton and Semple and used by them in printing the *Californian* in August, 1846.

GEORGE L. HARDING.

2. Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *Essays and Miscellany*, San Francisco, 1890, p. 595.

3. *Departmental Records*, MS., XIII, 37, and *Departmental State Papers, Benicia*, MS., III, 33.

4. U. S. District Court, Northern District of California. No. 424, *The United States vs. José Y. Limantour*. San Francisco: 1857. Deposition of Henry Cambuston, p. 583 *et seq.*

A CHECK LIST AND CENSUS OF CALIFORNIA SPANISH IMPRINTS, 1833-1845

1. FIGUEROA, JOSÉ. El Supremo Gobierno Federal se ha servido confiar á me insuficiencia el mando Político y Militar del Territorio, . . . [Announcement of his arrival as governor.] Monterey, January 16, 1833. [C]⁵ Copies located: None.

ZAMORANO (First Printer)

2. ZAMORANO, AGUSTIN V., Y COMPAÑIA. Aviso Al Publico. Monterey, 1834. [C] Copies located: Bancroft. Translations: Sacramento *Union*, December 25, 1858, reprinted by the Plandome Press, New York, 1927; *Sunset Magazine*, January, 1906, p. 286.
3. Reglamento Provicional Para El Gobierno Interior De La Ecma. Diputacion Territorial De La Alta California. . . Monterey, 1834. [C] Copies located: Bancroft Translations: In resumé, Bancroft, *California*, III, p. 252.
4. FIGUEROA, JOSÉ. Jose Figueroa, General De Brigada De La Republica Mejicana, Comandante General Ynspector Y Gefe Superior Politico Del Territorio de la Alta California. [Plan de Propios y Arbitrios para fondos municipales de los Ayuntamientos del Territorio da la Alta California.] Monterey, August 6, 1834. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; E. Grabhorn. Translations: Dwinelle, J. W., *Colonial History of . . . San Francisco*, (Second Edition), San Francisco, 1863, Addenda XVIII, p. 29; Same, Third Edition, San Francisco, 1866; Same, Fourth Edition, San Francisco, 1867. In resumé, Bancroft, *California*, III, p. 380.
5. FIGUEROA, JOSÉ. Reglamento Provicional Para La Secularisacion De Las Misiones De La Alta California. Monterey, August 9, 1834. [C] Copies located: Bancroft. Translations: Dwinelle, J. W., *Colonial History of . . . San Francisco*, (Second Edition), San Francisco, 1863, Addenda XIX, p. 31; Same, Third Edition, San Francisco, 1866; Same, Fourth Edition, San Francisco, 1867. Engelhardt, Fr. Z., *Missions and Missionaries of California*, San Francisco, 1913, Vol. III, pp. 523-530. House of Reps., 31st Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 17 [January, 1850], H. W. Halleck's Report, Appendix No. 14, p. 148. Senate, 31st Congress, 1st [sic-2nd] Session, Ex. Doc. No. 18 [January, 1851], Wm. Carey Jones' Report, Exhibit No. 15, p. 63. Claims for Mission Lands, District Court of the United States. (Brief for the United States.) San Francisco, 1859. Appendix No. 2, p. 5. In resumé, Bancroft, *California*, III, p. 342.
6. [Invitation to ball given by Governor Figueroa.] Monterey, November 1, 1834. [C] Copies located: None.
7. FIGUEROA, JOSÉ. El Comandante Gral. Y Gefe Politico De La Alta California A Los Habitantes Del Territorio. [Proclamation.] Monterey, March 16, 1835. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; San Jose Archives; T. W. Streeter. Translations: *The Manifesto . . . Don Jose Figueroa*, San Francisco, 1855, p. 86.
8. FIGUEROA, JOSÉ. Manifiesto A La Republica Mejicana. . . Monterey, 1835. [C] Copies located: Bancroft-3; California State Library; Coronel Collection, Los Angeles Museum; Templeton Crocker; J. FauntLeroy; Mrs. R. B. Henderson; Huntington; Mrs. K. C. Jamieson; The Old Mission, Santa Barbara; T. W. Streeter. Translations: *The Manifesto . . . Don Jose Figueroa*, San Francisco, Herald Office, 1855.
9. Compania De Caballeria Permanente Del Presidio De San Francisco. Filiacion. No date, no place. [Monterey, 1835.] [A blank military enlistment or service record form printed on the recto of each leaf of a double sheet—21.0 x 30.8 cms.] Copies located: Bancroft.

5. Items marked [C] were listed in Robert Ernest Cowan's *A Bibliography of the Spanish Press of California*, San Francisco, 1919.

ZAMORANO (*Second Printer*)

10. CASTRO, JOSÉ. Gobierno Politico De La Alta California. [Proclamation.]
Monterey, January 2, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft.
11. GUTIERREZ, NICOLÁS. Comandancia General De La Alta California. [Proclamation.]
Monterey, January 2, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft.
- 11a. GUTIERREZ, NICOLÁS. Comandancia General De La Alta California. [Proclamation.]
Monterey, January 2, 1836. (This is a variation, textually and typographically of the preceding item.) Copies located: H. R. Wagner.
12. CHICO, MARIANO. El Ciudadano Coronel Mariano Chico, Representante De La Nacion, Comandante General, Inspector Y Gefe Superior Politico De Este Departamento, A Los Habitantes Del Mismo.
Monterey, May 3, 1836. [C] Copies located: None.
13. CHICO, MARIANO. El Ciudadano Coronel Mariano Chico, Representante De La Nacion, Comandante General, Inspector Y Gefe Superior Politicó Del Territorio De La Alta California, A Sus Habitantes.
Monterey, May 11, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft. Translations: In resumé, Bancroft, *California*, IV, p. 82.
14. CHICO, MARIANO. Discurso Pronunciado. . .
Monterey, May 20, 1836. [C] Copies located: Archivo General, Secretaría de Gobernación, *Actas de Juramento*, 1835, Mexico. (Cf. Bolton, H. E., *Guide to . . . Archives of Mexico*, Washington, 1913, p. 319.) Translations: In resumé, Bancroft, *California*, III, p. 422.
15. CHICO, MARIANO. Discurso Pronunciado . . .
Monterey, May 27, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Huntington; H. R. Wagner. Translations: In resumé, Bancroft, *California*, III, p. 424.
16. CHICO, MARIANO. El C. Coronel Mariano Chico Representante Del Congreso Mejicano, Comandante General Y Gefe Politico De La Alta California, A Sus Habitantes.
Monterey, July 24, 1836. [C] Copies located: H. R. Wagner. Translations: *Sandwich Islands Gazette*, Honolulu, November 12, 1836; *Sacramento Union*, December 25, 1858.
17. [ROMERO, JOSÉ MARIANO.] Catecismo de Ortologia.
Monterey, 1836. [C] Copies located: None.
18. Tablas Para Los Niños Que Empiezan A Contar.
Monterey, 1836. [C] Copies located: Huntington.
19. Tablas Para Los Niños Que Empiezan A Contar. [Broadside.]
No place, no date. [Monterey, 1836.] [C] Copies located: None.
20. En Recuerdo Del Glorioso Grito: Dado En El Pueblo De Dolores, En El Año De Mil Ocho Cientos Diez.
No place, no date. [Monterey, 1836.] [Title in capitals within border of unit ornaments around box of rule units containing poem of two stanzas of four lines and six lines. Single sheet of light blue wove paper—13.3 x 20.5 cms.] Copies located: Bancroft.

SANTIAGO AGUILAR

21. La Ecselentísima Diputacion De La Alta California, A Sus Habitantes.
Monterey, November 6, 1836. [C] Copies located: Secretaría de Guerra y Marina, Archivo General, 1836, Legajo 6, Mexico. (Cf. Bolton, H. E., *Guide to . . . Archives of Mexico*, Washington, 1913, p. 276.) Translations: Bancroft, *California*, III, p. 469. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, IV, p. 55.
22. En el Puerto de Monterrey de la Alta California, á los siete dias del mes de Noviembre de mil ochocientos treinta y seis reunidos en sesion estraordinaria los vocales de la Ecselentísima Diputacion . . . [Declaration of Independence.]

- Monterey, November 7, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Archivo General y Publico de la Nacion, Tomo 182, Justicia, Mexico. Translations: In resumé, Bancroft, *California*, III, p. 470. In resumé, Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, IV, p. 56.
23. CASTRO, JOSÉ. El C Jose Castro Comandante De La Vanguardia De La Division De Operaciones Á Los Habitantes Del Estado Libre Y Soberano De La Alta California.
Monterey, November 13, 1836. [C] Copies located: Archivo General y Publico de la Nacion, Tomo 182, Justicia, Mexico. Translations: Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, IV, p. 57.
24. VALLEJO, M. G. Proclama El C. Mariano G. Vallejo En El Acto De Prestar El Juramento De Las Bases Adoptadas Por La Ecselentisima Diputacion De I.a Alta California. [Proclamation.]
Monterey, November 29, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Archivo General y Publico de la Nacion, Tomo 182, Justicia, Mexico. Translations: In resumé, Bancroft, *California*, III, p. 473. In French, Du Petit-Thouars, *Voyage Autour du Monde . . . 1836-1839*, Paris, 1841, IV, p. 1. In part, Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, IV, p. 57.
- CASTRO, JOSÉ [Decretos of the Constituent Congress of the Free and Sovereign State of Alta California, by its President.]
25. No. 1.
Monterey, November 8, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Secretaría de Guerra y Marina, Archivo General, Legajo 52-6-9-2, Mexico.
26. No. 2.
Monterey, November 29, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Secretaría de Guerra y Marina, Archivo General, Legajo 52-6-9-2, Mexico.
27. No. 3.
Monterey, December 4, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Secretaría de Guerra y Marina, Archivo General, Legajo 52-6-9-2, Mexico.
28. No. 4.
Monterey, December 5, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Secretaría de Guerra y Marina, Archivo General, Legajo 52-6-9-2, Mexico. Translations: In French, Du Petit-Thouars, *Voyage*, IV, p. 3.
29. No. 5.
Monterey, December 7, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Secretaría de Guerra y Marina, Archivo General, Legajo 52-6-9-2, Mexico. Translations: In resumé, Bancroft, *California*, III, p. 475. In French, Du Petit-Thouars, *Voyage*, IV, p. 6.
30. No. 6.
Monterey, December 7, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Secretaría de Guerra y Marina, Archivo General, Legajo 52-6-9-2, Mexico. Translations: In French, Du Petit-Thouars, *Voyage*, IV, p. 9.
31. No. 7.
Monterey, December 9, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Secretaría de Guerra y Marina, Archivo General, Legajo 52-6-9-2, Mexico. Translations: In French, Du Petit-Thouars, *Voyage*, IV, p. 10.
32. No. 8.
Monterey, December 9, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Secretaría de Guerra y Marina, Archivo General, Legajo 52-6-9-2, Mexico. Translations: In French, Du Petit-Thouars, *Voyage*, IV, p. 12.
33. No. 9.
Monterey, December 9, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Secretaría de Guerra y Marina, Archivo General, Legajo 52-6-9-2, Mexico. Translations: In French, Du Petit-Thouars, *Voyage*, IV, p. 18.

34. No. 10.

Monterey, December 20, 1836. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Secretaría de Guerra y Marina, Archivo General, Legajo 52-6-9-2, Mexico. Translations: In French, Du Petit-Thouars, *Voyage*, IV, p. 21.

35. CASTRO, JOSÉ. El C. Jose Castro Presidente Del Congreso Constituyente Del Estado Libre Y Soberano De La Alta California.

Monterey, December 11, 1836. [C] [Form for military commission issued by authority of the Congress.] Copies located: Bancroft—to M. G. Vallejo, as colonel. Translations: In French, Du Petit-Thouars, *Voyage*, IV, p. 20.

36. ALVARADO, J. B. El C. Juan B. Albarado [sic] Coronel De La Milicia Civica Y Gobernador Del Estado Libre Y Soberano De Alta California.

Monterey, December 12, 1836. [C] [Form for military commission issued by authority of the Governor.] Copies located: Bancroft—to Miguel Avila, as ensign; to Valentin Cota, as captain; to Manuel Cota, as lieutenant. Historical Society of Southern California Collection, Los Angeles Museum—to Andres Pico, as lieutenant.

37. ALVARADO, J. B. El C. Juan B. Alvarado Coronel De La Milicia Civica Gefe Superior Politico Del Primer Canton Y Gobernador Del Estado Libre Y Soberano De La Alta California, A Los Habitantes.

Monterey, December 20, 1836. [C] Copies located: None.

38. CASTRO, JOSÉ. El que subscribe tiene el honor de participar a Vd. que asuntos interesantes al bienestar del Departamento . . .

No place, no date. [Monterey, 1836.] [C] Copies located: Bancroft.

39. VALLEJO, M. G. Proclama Mariano G. Vallejo Comandante General De La Alta California, A Sus Habitantes.

Monterey, February 24, 1837. [C] Copies located: Bancroft. Translations: In part, Bancroft, *California*, III, p. 513. In French, Du Petit-Thouars, *Voyage*, IV, p. 22.

40. ALVARADO, J. B. El C. Juan B. Alvarado Gobernador Interino Del Estado Libre Y Soberano De La Alta California, A Sus Habitantes.

Monterey, May 10, 1837. [C] Copies located: Bancroft. Translations: In French, Du Petit-Thouars, *Voyage*, IV, p. 24.

40a. ALVARADO, J. B. El C. Juan B. Alvarado Gobernador Interino Del Estado Libre Y Soberano De La Alta California, A Sus Habitantes.

No place, no date. [Monterey, May 10, 1837.] [C] (This the same as the preceding item but without date line and printed on two sheets rather than on both sides of one.) Copies located: Bancroft.

41. Conduce el presente correo la correspondencia siguiente.

Monterey, no date. [1837] [A blank form apparently for use in the postal service, 21.8 x 15.3 cms.] Copies located: Bancroft-4.

M. G. VALLEJO, Sonoma. (*Printer unknown*)

42. VALLEJO, M. G. Ecsposicion Que Hoco El Comdanante [sic] General Interino De La Alta California Al Gobernador De La Misma.

Sonoma, August 17, 1837. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Huntington; Stanford. Translations: U. S. vs. Limantour, Archives Exhibit V, p. 1.

43. VALLEJO, M. G. [*Ordenes* of the Comandante General, 1837-9.] [C]

Sonoma, 1837-1839. Copies located: Bancroft; Templeton Crocker; Huntington; Stanford.

44. VALLEJO, M. G. Francisco Solano, Gefe de las tribus de esta frontera, abusando del poder, de la influencia y de la proteccion que le dispensó la comandancia militar de esta punto, . . .

Sonoma, October 6, 1838. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Huntington.

45. VALLEJO, M. G. Los diezmos que la jurisdiccion del pueblo de S. Jose de Guadalupe pagaba al gobierno y cobrada . . .

Sonoma, October 15, 1838. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; San Jose Archives.

46. VALLEJO, M. G. Al M. Y. Ayuntamiento de esa jurisdiccion digo con esta fecha lo siguiente. Sonoma, October 15, 1838. [C] Copies located: Bancroft.
47. ALVARADO, J. B. Juan B. Alvarado Gefe Politico Interino De La Alta California; Á Sus Habitantes. Santa Barbara, November 21, 1838. [C] (Imprint—Impreso en Sonoma: Imprenta del Gobierno.) Copies located: Bancroft.
48. VALLEJO, M. G. El Señor comisionado por el Supremo Gobierno D. Andres Castillero que arribó al punto de Santa Barbara en la Coleta California el dia 15 del corriente, me dice con fecha 17 del mismo lo siguiente . . . Sonoma, November 27, 1838. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; E. Grabhorn; Huntington.
49. Doctrina para los padres de familia carta de una novia de moda, a su futura contestacion a la carta anterior. Sonoma, no date. [1838] [C] Copies located: None.
50. Botica General De Los Remedios Esperimentados. Sonoma, 1838. [C] Copies located: Huntington.
51. Compania Presidial De Monterey. Filiacion. No place, no date. [Sonoma, 1838.] [A blank military enlistment or service record form, 22.3 x 32.3 cms.] Copies located: Bancroft-36.
52. Compañia De Caballeria Permanente Del Presidio De San Francisco. Filiacion. No place, no date. [Sonoma, 1838.] [A blank military enlistment or service record form, 21.5 x 31.5 cms.] Copies located: Bancroft-2.
53. VALLEJO, M. G. El Comandante General De La Alta California. [Proclamation.] Sonoma, June 12, 1839. [C] Copies located: Bancroft.
54. VALLEJO, SALVADOR. Aviso Al Publico. Sonoma, August 15, 1839. [C] Copies located: Bancroft.

FIRST UNKNOWN PRINTER

55. ALVARADO, J. B. Juan B. Alvarado Gobernador Constitucional Del Departamento De Los Californias, Á Los Habitantes Del Mismo, Sabed: Monterey, March 1, 1840. [C] Copies located: Bancroft. Translations: Dwinelle, J. W., *Colonial History of . . . San Francisco*, [Second Edition], San Francisco, 1863, Addenda XXXIX, p. 57; Same, Third Edition, San Francisco, 1866; Same, Fourth Edition, San Francisco, 1867. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, IV, p. 163. House of Reps., 31st Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 17 [January, 1850], H. W. Halleck's Report, Appendix No. 18, p. 157. Senate, 31st Congress, 1st [sic-2nd] Session, Ex. Doc. No. 18 [January, 1851], Wm. Carey Jones' Report, Exhibit No. 18, p. 68. Claims for Mission Lands, District Court of the United States. (Brief for the United States.) San Francisco, 1859. Appendix No. 2, p. 5. In resumé, Bancroft, *California*, IV, p. 59.
56. ALVARADO, J. B. Juan Bautista Alvarado, Gobernador Constitucional Del Departamento De Los Californias; Á Sus Habitantes. No place, no date. [Monterey, circa April 26, 1840.] [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Historical Society of Southern California Collection, Los Angeles Museum; San Jose Archives; Taylor Documents, Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco. Translations: In part, Bancroft, *California*, IV, p. 14.

SECOND UNKNOWN PRINTER

57. Los Hijos, Hermanos, Parientes y Amigos del Señor Don José Tiburcio Castro, tienen el sentimiento de participar a Vd. haber fallecido este el dia 5 del corriente, y le suplican haga por su alma los sufragios que su piedad le dicte; faver a que le viviran agradecidos. San Juan Bautista, July 10, 1841. [A single leaf of wove paper, 13.1 x 20.6 cms.] Copies located: Coronel Collection, Los Angeles Museum.

THIRD UNKNOWN PRINTER

58. [RIPALDA.] Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana.
Monterey, 1842. [C] Copies located: None.

HENRI CAMBUSTON

59. Compendio De La Gramática Castellana.
Monterey, 1843. [C] Copies located: Library of Congress.
60. Definicion De Las Principales Operaciones De Arismética.
Monterey, 1843. [C] Copies located: Library of Congress; University of California.
61. Tablas Para Sumar, Restar Y Multiplicar.
Monterey, 1843. [C] Copies located: Library of Congress.
62. [El Testo De La Doctrina Cristiana.] (*from heading, p. 3.*)
[Monterey, 1843.] [C] Copies located: Bancroft-2, both incomplete.
63. FR. J. M. S. DEL REAL. Misionero Apostólico del Colegio de propaganda fide de Ntra. Sra. de Guadalupe de Zacatecas; y actual Ministro de la Mision de San Carlos de Monterey en la alta California.
No place, no date. [Monterey, 1843.] [Baptismal certificate printed on recto of first leaf of double sheet, 22.6 x 32.5 cms.] Copies located: Bancroft—for María Ramona Antonia de la Torre; for Ana María de Guadalupe Cooper; for Juan Bautista Guillermo Cooper; for Manuel de Jesus Castro. E. Grabhorn—for David Victor Spence.

64. Cesareo Lataillade y Maria Antonia de la Guerra tienen el honor de participar á Vd. haber celebrado matrimonio y se ofrecen á su disposicion en su nuevo estado.

No place, no date. [Monterey, 1843.] [C] Copies located: Bancroft.

65. LARKIN, THOMAS O. Tomas Oliverio Larkin, tiene el honor de noticiar á V. que el Ecsmo. Sor. Presidente de los Estados-Unidos del Norte; se ha dignado conferirle el nombramiento de Consul de dicha República para este puerto; y habiendo tomado hoy posesion de su nuevo empleo, se ofrece respetuosamente á la disposicion de V.

Monterey, April 2, 1844. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Society of California Pioneers.

JOSÉ DE LA ROSA

66. Sello Primero Ocho Pesos. [Sealed-paper heading for the years 1844 and 1845.] El Ciudadano Manuel Micheltorena, General de Brigada, Ayudante General de la Plana Mayor del Ejercito, Gobernador, Comandante General, é Inspector del Departamento de Californias.
No place, no date. [Monterey, 1844.] [Form for military commission issued by authority of the governor, printed on recto of first leaf of double sheet, 22.0 x 31.5 cms.] Copies located:⁶ Bancroft—to Pio Pico, as comandante 1st squadron auxiliary *defensores*, Los Angeles, dated July 8, 1844; to José Antonio Carillo, as Comandante 2nd squadron, auxiliary *defensores*, Los Angeles, dated July 8, 1844. Historical Society of Southern California Collection, Los Angeles Museum—to Andres Pico, as captain of auxiliary *defensores* at San Diego, dated July 8, 1844. Huntington—to Raimundo Carillo, as captain of auxiliary *defensores*, at Santa Barbara, dated July 8, 1844.

67. Sello Tercero Un Peso. [Sealed-paper heading for the years 1844 and 1845.] El Ciudadano Manuel Micheltorena, General de Brigada, Ayundante General de la Plana Mayor del Ejercito, Gobernador, Comandante General, é Inspector del Departamento de Californias.

No place, no date. [Monterey, 1844.] [Form for military commission issued by authority of the governor, printed on recto of first leaf of double sheet, 22.0 x 31.5 cms.] Copies located: Bancroft—to José Fernandez, as lieutenant, dated August 17, 1844.

68. MICHELTORENA, MANUEL. El C. Manuel Micheltorena, General De Brigada, Ayundante General De La Plana Mayor Del Ejercito, Gobernador, Comandante General, É Inspector Del Departamento De Californias. Reglamento de la Milicia Auxiliar de Defensores de la Patria y Departamento de Californias.

Monterey, July 16, 1844. [C] Copies located: Bancroft.

6. See Bancroft, *California*, IV, p. 407, note 14, for list of officers receiving commissions in the auxiliary *defensores* at this time.

- 68a. MICHELTORENA, MANUEL. El C. Manuel Micheltorena, General De Brigada, Ayundante General De La Plana Mayor Del Ejercito, Gobernador, Comandante General, É Inspector Del Departamento De Californias. Reglamento de la Milicia Auxiliar de Defensores de la Patria y Departamento de Californias.
Monterey, July 16, 1844. [C] (This is the same as the preceding item but printed on one side of the sheet only.) Copies located: T. W. Streeter.
69. MICHELTORENA, MANUEL. El C. Manuel Micheltorena, General De Brigada Del Ejercito Mejicano, Ayundante General De La Plana Mayor Del Mismo, Gobernador, Comandante General, É Inspector Del Departamento De Californias. Habiendo llamado imperiosamente la atencion de este Gobierno, la continua introduccion, (neuva en este año) de efectos estrangeros traídos . . .
Monterey, July 30, 1844. [C] Copies located: Bancroft. Translations: U. S. *vs.* Limantour, Archives Exhibits N, No. 22, p. 22.
70. MICHELTORENA, MANUEL. El C. Manuel Micheltorena, General De Brigada Del Ejercito Mejicano, Ayundante General De La Plana Mayor Del Mismo, Gobernador, Comandante General, É Inspector Del Departamento De Californias. La Ecsma. Asamblea Departamental con fecha 20 del corriente me ha dirijido la acta siguiente . . .
Monterey, August 28, 1844. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Huntington; T. W. Streeter. Translations: U. S. *vs.* Limantour, Archives Exhibit N, No. 23, p. 24.
71. MICHELTORENA, MANUEL. El C. Manuel Micheltorena, General De Brigada Del Ejercito Mejicano, Ayundante General De La Plana Mayor Del Mismo, Gobernador, Comandante General, É Inspector Del Departamento De Californias. La Exma. Asamblea Departamental, con fecha 27 del mes procsimo pasado di-rije el decreto sigulente . . .
Monterey, September 3, 1844. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Huntington. Translations: U. S. *vs.* Limantour, Archives Exhibit N, No. 24, p. 26.
72. MICHELTORENA, MANUEL. Oracion Civica . . . 27 de Septiembre . . .
Monterey, 1844. [C] Copies located: Huntington.
73. MICHELTORENA, MANUEL. El C. Manuel Micheltorena, General De Brigada Del Ejercito Mejicano, Ayundante General De La Plana Mayor Del Mismo, Gobernador, Comandante General, É Inspector Del Departamento De Californias. Conciudadanos:
Monterey, December 16, 1844. [C] Copies located: Bancroft; Historical Society of Southern California Collection, Los Angeles Museum. Translations: U. S. *vs.* Limantour, Archives Exhibits O, No. 2, p. 3.

HENRI CAMBUSTON

74. Copia De Uno De Las Párrafos Leidos Por El Exmo. Sr. Ministro De Relaciones Exteriores Y Gobernacion En Senado El 11, Y En La Cámara De Diputados El 12 De Marzo De 1845.
No place, no date. [Monterey, 1845.] [C] Copies located: Bancroft.

COMMODORE EDMUND B. KENNEDY, U. S. N., VERSUS GOVERNOR NICOLAS GUTIERREZ AN INCIDENT OF 1836.

THE YEAR 1836 was one of great political unrest in California. During the short period of ten months four changes in governors took place. On January 2, 1836, José Castro surrendered the executive power, peacefully but unwillingly, to Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolas Gutierrez. That officer held it until April. Political discontent was just beginning to reach the breaking point when Colonel Mariano Chico arrived from Mexico and relieved Gutierrez. Chico's rule was brief and stormy, and by the end of July he was on his way back to Mexico. The responsibility of office once more fell upon the unwilling shoulders of Gutierrez, who soon found political affairs approaching a crisis with José Castro and Juan B. Alvarado as his chief opponents. It was at the end of October 1836, just as the bewildered governor was about to be overwhelmed by the political disorders, that Commodore Edmund B. Kennedy, aboard his flagship, *The Peacock*,¹ arrived at Monterey with more troubles for the almost frantic California executive.

At that very moment Castro and Alvarado were collecting their forces in the Salinas Valley, in preparation for their attack on Monterey on November 4. A number of adventuresome foreigners, mostly Americans, emboldened by the success of the Texas episode of a few months before, were ready to join hands with the rebels in the hope that, with a little luck, California might be separated from Mexico and turned into another Texas. That fact was well known to the officials as well as to the insurgents, and all were fearful lest it might come to pass.² At the psychological moment Commodore Kennedy arrived and made several harsh demands of the California Government, which tended to convince the authorities that he was in league with the rebels and expected to take California once the revolution had succeeded.³

Bancroft, who is the only historian who has mentioned the incident, states that the *Peacock* had come into the Pacific conveying an embassy to Siam. On the way back Commodore Kennedy stopped at the Hawaiian Islands. While there in September, 1836, he received a memorial from the merchants of Honolulu in which he was urged to visit the coast of California and Mexico. Their grounds were that many serious outrages and unjust acts had been committed by the authorities there, upon American vessels and seamen, and that great losses had been sustained in consequence. They believed that a valuable service would be

1. A vessel of the same name had previously visited California in 1806. Anchoring off San Juan Capistrano on April 4 of that year, Captain Kimball had sent four men ashore for provisions. The corporal of the mission guard, acting under Governor Arrillaga's recent orders directed against smugglers, refused to supply them with provisions, arrested the men and sent them to San Diego. They were later sent to San Blas. (Bancroft, *History of California*, II, 37-39.) This, however, was probably not the *Peacock* of Captain Kennedy; but it is quite possible that his sloop of war was the one later used by the Wilkes exploring expedition from August, 1838, until it was wrecked on a bar of the Columbia River, July 18-19, 1841. (Wilkes, Charles, *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition*, London, 1852, especially II, 189-94.)

2. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 445-470; gives the necessary evidence.

3. Gov. N. Gutierrez, confidential report to Sec. of War, Cape San Lucas, Nov. 30, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, *Archivo General de Guerra y Marina, Mexico*, expresses the idea that Kennedy might take California.

rendered to foreigners if the American squadron should appear in these waters. Of course no great losses were ever sustained by foreigners in California,⁴ but a little matter of exaggeration did not trouble the Honolulu merchants very much when there were profits to be made. Their letter is given in full by Ruschenberger, who was with the Commodore. It reads as follows:⁵

TO EDMUND P. KENNEDY, ESQ.

Commanding U. S. Naval Forces, of the
East India and Asiatic Station.

OAHU, SANDWICH ISLANDS,
September 16th, 1836.

Sir,

The undersigned, citizens of the United States of America, resident at the Sandwich Islands, beg leave respectfully to represent to you:

That we are all, directly or indirectly, interested in the commercial operations conducted from the United States, China, and these Islands, to the coasts of California and Mexico:

That many serious outrages and unjust acts have been committed by the governmental authorities of those countries upon American vessels and seamen, and great losses and damages sustained in consequence.

In the summer of 1833, the brig *Loriot*, Gorham H. Nye, master, Alpheus B. Thompson, supercargo, was unwarrantably seized in the harbor of St. Francisco, and detained several months. The sails of the vessel were unbent, her rudder unhung, and carried on shore, the master and crew were confined on board, and the supercargo committed to prison, whence he was not allowed his liberty for many months, nor until he had procured heavy bonds not to leave the country. He still remains under those bonds, if not in prison.

From intelligence recently received from California, we believe that a vessel, owned by John Coffin Jones, Esq., U. S. Consul, at this place, has been seized, and is, at present, detained, under similar circumstances of injustice, for alleged violations of the laws of the country, while she was under the direction of her previous owners, and in command of her former master. We refer to these as *instances* of grievous embarrassments arbitrarily imposed on our commerce.

We believe that no vessel of the United States government has, for many years, visited Upper California; and we have great confidence that, were a naval force to appear on that coast, and visit Lower California and Mexico, it would render valuable service to our citizens residing in those countries, would afford needed succor and protection to American vessels, at present employed there, and be attended with results peculiarly advantageous to the general interests of our national commerce.

With these statements and views, we have to express the hope that you may find it in your power to visit those coasts with the force under your command, before you shall leave the Pacific.

With due considerations of respect, we remain, sir, your fellow citizens,

PIERCE & BREWER,
JOSEPH MOORE,
WILLIAM PATY,
A. H. FAYERWEATHER,
THOMAS CUMMINS,
HENRY P. STEVENS,
ELIAS GRIMES & Co.,
THOMAS MEEK,
HENRY PATY & Co.,
J. PEABODY,
ELI SOUTHWORTH,
JOSEPH NAVARRO,
D. OWEN,
SAMUEL F. SHAW,

LADD & Co.,
SHERMAN PECK,
HINCKLEY & SMITH,
A. C. DAVIS,
JOHN PATY,
SAMUEL A. CUSHING,
WM. FRENCH, by J. J. GREENWAY
I. R. THOMAS, Jr.,
J. EBBETTS,
STEPHEN D. MACKINTOSH,
WILLIAM H. PEARCE,
CORNELIUS HOYER,
NELSON HALL,
CHARLES TITCOMB,

WILLIAM C. LITTLE.

4. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III 88-150, 340-385; gives evidence that no great outrages were ever committed by the California Government against the foreigners.

5. Ruschenberger, W. S. W., *A Voyage Round the World . . . in 1835, 1836, and 1837*, Philadelphia, 1838, pp. 489-91.

Bancroft remarks upon the situation as follows:

In accordance with this request, the *Peacock* was directed across the Pacific and anchored at Monterey the 24th of October. The visit was not eventful, nor is much known of it in detail, no notice of the arrival even appearing in the archives. The Commodore found Governor Gutierrez and his forces "nightly on guard, expecting an attack from some disaffected rancheros and Indians." He visited the deserted mission at Carmelo; was visited by some trappers, who recounted their inland exploits, expressed proper amazement at all on shipboard, and exhibited their marksmanship; and met the old veteran Captain William Smith. Then after six days, "the Commodore having done all that was necessary in relation to the subject of complaints under existing circumstances," he got under way for Mazatlan on the 30th, just in time to avoid the revolution—of which, and the part to be taken in it by foreigners, the Commander knew nothing, perhaps—but not until he had received from American residents and supercargoes a letter of thanks for "his kind interference," and the "highly salutary" influence of his visit. There is no record of his investigation of abuses, if he made any.⁶

Like a bolt of lightning out of a clear sky came Kennedy's demands upon the California authorities. He did not stop to make any investigation as to the truth of the charges he was to present, although he did inform himself thoroughly as to the plans of the revolution that was about to break out. Then he sent his demands ashore requesting a prompt answer. His letter was as follows:

UNITED STATES FRIGATE OF WAR PEACOCK

Bay of Monterey,
October 27, 1836.

Sir:

Having received word while in the Sandwich Islands that certain difficulties existed between citizens of the United States of America and the authorities of this coast, which proceed, so it is represented from the arbitrary steps taken by General Don José Figueroa, in seizing the American schooner *Loriot*, with its cargo and supercargo Mr. Alpheus B. Thompson at the port of San Francisco in September 1833, I have come to this port as a representative of my Government, with the object of exacting, forthwith, explanations regarding the motives for the seizure of said vessel, and cargo and for the arrest of Mr. Thompson.⁷

In the protest made by Mr. Thompson and which I have at hand, he states that, on September 26th, Don José Sanchez, Captain of the port of San Francisco, boarded the vessel with an armed party and placing a loaded pistol at his chest, informed him that in the name of the Nation and by order of General Figueroa he placed him under arrest and seized the vessel and its cargo . . . That the cargo and the sails were landed and a part of them were stolen and another part very badly abused, and he continues: that notwithstanding his repeated efforts he was unable to obtain his freedom, being unable to give bail for himself.⁸

Now I must demand that without loss of time Mr. Thompson be released from the bonds which he has given; and I believe it to be my duty to send my Government an exact account of all proceedings in this affair, with the object of demanding from the Mexican Government compensation for all the damages and injuries that have originated from the arrest of Mr. Thompson and from the seizure of the vessel and its cargo.

Since my arrival at this port I have also been informed that it has been customary to force the citizens of North America to do guard duty as soldiers or as police guards, and in case they could not do it personally they had to furnish a substitute, and they have been obliged

6. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 140-141. His quotations are from Ruschenberger. The correspondence that passed between the Commodore and the Governor, which supplies the missing details that Bancroft was unable to obtain, was found among some confidential reports in the archives of the Mexican War Department. It is here presented for the first time.

7. Thompson was arrested because he was a notorious smuggler and had escaped the authorities several times in former years. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 365-66.) W. H. Davis, *Seventy-five years in California*, devotes ch. xxxiv, to smuggling activities of Thompson, himself, and other foreigners. The cargo and sails were stored in Vallejo's home at the Presidio until Thompson was released.

8. Thompson was allowed bail. In fact J. C. Jones, U. S. Consul in Hawaii, posted a simple promissory note and Thompson was set free. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 366.)

to pay a certain sum to the government soldiers who performed those guard duties for them.⁹ Regarding this act, as likewise with respect to the fine imposed upon Mr. Larkin for harbouring a servant, who later, according to the former, was forced aboard a Mexican man-of-war and taken from the territory; I expect to receive satisfactory explanations, inasmuch as the two things seem to be contrary to the treaty that exists between the United States and Mexico. . . . Furthermore, Mr. Larkin was not even allowed a trial.¹⁰

The brig *Diana* that entered this port last Monday in distress from lack of water, was forced to put to sea immediately or to pay some high anchorage dues.¹¹

As I am soon to have the opportunity in my present voyage, to communicate with my Government, I must request an immediate answer so that I may send it via the Isthmus, in order that our Chargé d'affaires in Mexico and I as commander of the squadron on this coast may receive the necessary instructions.

I have the honor to remain very respectfully your obedient servant.

EDMUND B. KENNEDY,

Commanding the East Indian and Asiatic Squadron of the United States.

To His Excellency, Don Nicolas Gutierrez, Commanding General and Political Governor of Alta California.

All of the above charges, the truth of which Kennedy should have investigated before starting the controversy, were very inaccurate. To say that the governor and other officials must have been surprised at Kennedy's action is putting it mildly. Here was a high naval commander of a friendly power making rather harsh demands, without formalities or even preliminary negotiations on the subject. Then too, Kennedy could not be positive that Thompson had stated his case correctly. In fact, there is evidence that he did not tell the whole truth. William Heath Davis, who was present in San Francisco at the time said:

About 1833 the brig *Loriot*, Captain Nye, arrived from Honolulu with a cargo of merchandise, A. B. Thompson, supercargo. Shortly after, orders were sent from Monterey to have the vessel and cargo seized, upon the presumption that full duties had not been paid. Don José Sanchez was directed to board the ship and arrest Thompson. He accordingly proceeded to do so, accompanied by a squad of soldiers. Reaching the deck of the vessel and approaching to make the arrest, Sanchez drew a pistol and aimed it at Thompson, who instantly struck it from the officer's hand, and at the same moment knocked him down and jumped upon him. The soldiers came to Sanchez' aid and gave him protection. Thompson was taken ashore and imprisoned at the Presidio, where he remained for some considerable time. After his arrest the whole cargo was removed to shore, together with the stores of the vessel, and the sails were unbent and taken away. Finally an order was received from headquarters to release the cargo and other property of the vessel and liberate Thompson, which was carried into effect.¹²

Obviously Mr. Thompson put himself very much in the wrong by resisting arrest and doing violence to the officer. Such an offence would be punished with imprisonment in any country. Under the circumstances, Commodore Kennedy should have investigated the affair before making his demands. Governor Gutierrez wrote an answer in which he explained each point thoroughly. He said:

9. Only twice did foreigners do guard duty at Monterey during those years. The first time in Jan. 1832, when some 50 men organized a volunteer company to help Capt. Zamorano against Gov. Echeandia. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 221-22.) The second time was in July 1836, at the time of Gov. Chico's rule. The foreigners again volunteered. Those who did not want to serve paid 50 cents a day for a substitute, that was imposed by their fellow countrymen. (Gov. Chico, confidential report to Mex. War Dept., Monterey, July 12, 1836, MS 52-8-7-1, *Arch. Gen. de Guerra y Marina, Mexico*.)

10. Larkin was caught redhanded, with the man in his house. He was taken to court and fined a small sum. There was no need for a trial. There was also no Mexican warship in California waters at any time. The man was placed aboard the Mexican brig *Leonor*, and sent to San Blas. (T. O. Larkin, *Documents, Hist. Calif.*, MS, I, 1835.)

11. Governor Gutierrez' explanation seems valid enough. There is no record in the archives that the *Diana* was ordered out of Monterey, though records of its visits and trading activities are extant.

12. W. H. Davis, *Seventy-five years in California*, 253.

Monterey, October 28, 1836.

Mr. Commodore:

Informed of Your Excellency's note of the 27th, instant, aboard the sloop of war *Peacock*, anchored in this port; I have called to view all the antecedents to be found in the files of my government and which are pertinent to the points touched upon by Your Excellency, and in connection with them I have heard the reports of the alcaldes of this port, the customs administrator, and the district judge, concerning their respective parts in the matter; and from the examination of the antecedents that have been found, and having heard said reports, I reply to Your Excellency as follows.

According to the law of April 16, 1811, which is in force in the Republic of Mexico, whaling, sealing, and otter hunting in the waters of the coasts of both Californias is allowed only to Mexican citizens or subjects of my Republic, and consequently it is prohibited to all foreigners not naturalized. In 1833, the judge of the town of Los Angeles of this territory, was informed that the American citizen Mr. Alpheus B. Thompson, as supercargo of the brig *Coveboy*, was clandestinely engaged in otter hunting in the very waters of this coast. Having taken notice of the information, according to the laws, and adding to the merits of the case, the previous reports which we had, that Mr. Thompson was engaged in this illicit trade and that public opinion had judged and judges him as inclined to that class of contraband, judicial orders were given to detain the American brig *Loriot* and its cargo which were considered as his property, so as to insure the effectiveness of the suit that had been instituted regarding the financial penalty that might result. Moreover, since the laws upon this penalty impose a corporal penalty on those guilty of smuggling in cases similar to the one of which Mr. Thompson was accused, he was justly proceeded against and placed under arrest, because the fact that he is a foreigner does not authorize him to violate with impunity the laws of the country that gives him hospitality, nor could the Mexican Authorities have tolerated that Mr. Thompson should hold himself superior to the laws and should flout their provisions, as it happened at Santa Barbara in the year 1832, and which is attested to in the brief that was sent to the Supreme Government of Mexico.

Subsequently, on October 16, 1833, on account of the friendly, and not official, representations from the Consul of the Sandwich Islands, Mr. John C. Jones, who happened to be in this port, and in which he pointed out that neither the vessel nor the cargo were the property of Mr. Thompson, the attachment on both was lifted, and a demand was made for an adequate bond which was posted for Mr. Thompson by Mr. J. C. Jones according to our laws.

At this stage the case seems to have remained paralyzed without either gentleman, the one bailed or the surety, having been molested, and I must inform Your Excellency that Mr. Thompson has made no demands whatever since that date in spite of the justice which he claims for his case, so the District Judge of this Territory, to whom the jurisdiction of the case belongs, has certified, at least not since he organized his court some twenty months ago; so it is very strange that Mr. Thompson should suddenly bring to Your Excellency's attention supposed and perhaps malicious accounts in order to obtain through the protection of your authority that which perchance he may not get by justice nor by right, distorting the procedure of the Mexican Authorities and positively comparing them to those of the Barbary Pirates.

And since Mr. Thompson has not made, as I say, any claims whatever nor produced any legal evidence that will prove that he was personally abused, or part of his cargo stolen, I am unable to inform Your Excellency as to the truth of the protest that he made and which Your Excellency has before you the which, as it is in his behalf and without legal character, is likely not to be accurate. And I repeat, that if Mr. Thompson believes that he has justice on his side, he must appeal to the competent tribunals and it will be promptly and impartially administered to him, in accordance with the laws of my Country, and without the necessity of distracting Your Excellency's attention from the other objects of your cruise, and I promise that if Mr. Thompson's claims are just he will be necessarily freed from the bond and indemnified for the damages which he says he has suffered.

In regard to the obligation that Your Excellency tells me is imposed by the alcaldes of this port upon the citizens of North America to do civil guard duty, I must inform you that American citizens, invited by my predecessor in this office, voluntarily lent themselves to this

service, because the troops being occupied away from this town on matters of the public service, this neighborhood was left at the mercy of evildoers, and consequently these citizens had to provide for their own security from which they obtained an immediate and direct benefit; and I must inform Your Excellency that this civic duty ceased at the moment that the troops were returned to this post. Furthermore, in case this same service were continued, I do not consider the complaint is justified for the reason that the treaty of amity and commerce which exists between my Republic and that of North America, being based on reciprocity, and it being a fact that Mexican citizens in said northern republic lend their services in the civil guard after a month of residence there. It would be only right that these should be obliged to do likewise here, which is not done as I have already said, the service that they have given is voluntary, and it is a necessary consequence of this voluntary service that when the American citizens have been unable or unwilling to do guard duty, they have furnished a substitute the same as the Mexican citizens, without there being any discrimination whatever against one or the other.

With respect to the fine imposed on Mr. Larkin, and the insult offered his servant, by the municipal authorities, I am well informed that the fine was imposed by the alcalde because said Larkin concealed a sailor who had deserted from a whaling schooner that was anchored in this bay, and since it is a crime to aid sailors in deserting, the fine, although small, was very just and the deserter was very justly ejected from the territory. By this Your Excellency may see that Mr. Larkin's complaint is unfounded.

If the captain of the brig *Diana* has informed Your Excellency that he has been forced to put to sea immediately, it is false, because neither the maritime customs nor the captaincy of the port ordered him to leave, nor did they have previous notice of it, because said captain neglected to give them the required notice. The duties that are charged merchant ships in this port, are not for anchorage but for tonnage, and no merchant vessel is exempt from them, because the law of November 16, 1827, in articles 4 and 6, provides that they must pay seventeen reals (81¢), a ton,¹³ whatever their object for entering, even if it were to repair or avoid damage or to replenish its stores, and it is beyond the power of the customs office to excuse it from this payment of which said brig *Diana* is debtor by the mere act of having anchored in the port. Moreover, it committed the fault of getting in communication with the anchored frigate *Rasselas* before having received the special visits from the quarantine and customs officers.

With what I have said, I believe I have answered Your Excellency's note.

NICOLAS GUTIERREZ.

His Excellency Commodore Edmund B. Kennedy, commanding the Asiatic Squadron of the United States, aboard the frigate of war *Peacock*.

Very likely Governor Gutierrez thought that his long and detailed answer would satisfy Commodore Kennedy, but that was not the case. That same day, October 28, before the morning was very far advanced, Commodore Kennedy sent a second note of protest to Gutierrez.

UNITED STATES FRIGATE PEACOCK

Bay of Monterey,
October 28, 1836.

Sir:

I regret to find myself in the necessity of having to bother you again with the same subject of my letter of yesterday; moreover, a communication received from the owner of the frigate *Rasselas*, forces me to take this step with the object of preventing a serious disagreement between our respective governments.

I have been told by said note, that the frigate *Rasselas*, Captain J. O. Carter, having arrived at this port with the object of engaging in trade, and that having satisfied or given a bond for the anchorage charges in the port, he has received orders to put to sea tomorrow.

13. A real is 12½ cents Mexican money, seventeen reals would be 2.12½ pesos or about 81 cents American money at normal rate of exchange.

As Your Excellency well knows, the payment of this tonnage charge gives the ship a right to occupy the port for all the time it requires, I for my part have told Captain Carter to stay here as long as he deems convenient in order to finish his business.¹⁴

I also consider, that the payment of tonnage by an American vessel gives it the right to remain in this port, so long as it complies with the laws of the country, and any order to the contrary, shall be regarded by me as a violation of the rights and privileges guaranteed by the treaty.

EDMUND B. KENNEDY.

Commanding the East Indian and Asiatic Squadron.

His Excellency Don Nicolas Gutierrez, Commanding General and Political Governor of Alta California.

It may be that Governor Gutierrez was annoyed by such demands but with the customary Hispanic courtesy, he answered the second note in detail in a letter on the afternoon of October 28.

Monterey, October 28, 1836.

Mr. Commodore:

This morning Your Excellency's new communication as of this date was delivered to me, the officer who brought it being very insistent that I should make a prompt reply. However, since this Government must rely upon a fully authorized interpreter to make the translation of the referred note, the answer was not as prompt as Your Excellency desired.

I must inform Your Excellency, that the claim that Mr. John O. Carter, Captain of the frigate *Rasselas* made to Your Excellency, so as to continue anchored in this port by virtue of having paid or given a bond for the tonnage dues, is absolutely unfounded, and that he is only trying to take advantage of your kindness supposing that you lack knowledge of our laws.

Captain Carter appeared at this port on the 18th of this month, proposing to engage in his trade and pretending to pay the customs charges in merchandise, and not in money as is provided by our laws, for which reason he has not been allowed to sell his goods.¹⁵ To this I add that he also refused to accept the agreement offered to him by the customs officer, to pay half the charges in merchandise and the rest in money. At this time Captain Carter petitioned me on the 19th, asking that he be granted a term of eight days to repair the damages that he had suffered at sea; the which, after making the necessary enquiries, was ordered by me, granting him the same length of time that he requested and which ended today, for which reason the customs officials have ordered him to put to sea, as he no longer has an object to stay in this port.

I send Your Excellency a duly attested copy of the record of the affair, so that you may be convinced of the bad faith with which Captain Carter has acted in refusing to respect the Mexican law of November 16, 1827, so far as article 6, is concerned, which provides that the vessels that enter the port with the object of repairing damages or to get supplies shall pay tonnage charges and shall stay only the time required to make the repairs.

From what I have said, and with the reading of the testimony that I send you, Your Excellency may be convinced that this government gives the proper consideration to the American vessels, and that it proceeds with the utmost goodwill without violating the treaty of amity and commerce, and that in this business we attempt to have the laws of the country observed. By virtue of the prerogative which is delegated to me by the government of my Republic, I am the competent authority to whom the captains of the vessels must appeal in order to obtain the permission and time that they require to repair their damages.

And I doubt not that once Your Excellency comprehends the force of these arguments, you will withdraw the order that you state to have given Captain Carter to remain in this port; and that in turn you will warn him to respect the laws and authorities of the country, and that he is not to appeal to Your Excellency with claims that are peculiar to my jurisdiction as the highest local authority, without in any way violating by this, the privileges and rights guaranteed by the treaty.

14. Commodore Kennedy was presuming on his military force when he gave such an order, since he had neither the legal nor the moral right to do it until he had ascertained the truth of Carter's claims.

15. The usual practice of foreign merchants in Calif. was to pay half the customs dues in goods and the remainder in cash, after they had sold their stock. Davis (*op. cit.*, ch. xxiii) has much to say on that practice.

I have the honor of greeting Your Excellency with all consideration and of remaining your most obedient servant.

NICOLAS GUTIERREZ.

His Excellency Mr. Edmund B. Kennedy, Commanding the Asiatic Squadron of the United States, aboard the Frigate of War *Peacock*.

Once again, no doubt, Governor Gutierrez must have thought that he had answered that persistent Yankee. But not so; for hardly had the answer from Gutierrez been delivered to him, than Kennedy again despatched another demand. This time it concerned the original charges and was dated October 29.

UNITED STATES FRIGATE OF WAR PEACOCK

Bay of Monterey,
October 29, 1836.

Sir:

I must acknowledge receipt of your letters of this date, and I regret not to have as yet a definite decision upon my first communication, in regard to the bond given by Mr. Thompson.

So long a time having elapsed since the crime, of which Mr. Thompson is accused, was committed without this Government having taken the necessary steps to carry this matter before the competent tribunal, I cannot consider it lawful that Mr. Thompson should continue to be detained from now on; and I must request that Mr. Thompson's sureties be returned immediately (or a satisfactory affidavit for this purpose), so that I may be able to decide upon the steps which it may be necessary for him to follow.¹⁶

Since some Americans residing here are complaining about the rendering of military service, which Your Excellency represents as being entirely voluntary, I must beg that they shall not be called again to serve in like capacity, it being incompatible with their rights and privileges in this or any other country.¹⁷

And as there appear some notable differences between the claims of Captain Carter and of the Authorities, (and equally so in the case of the *Diana*), which I cannot now investigate, as I find it necessary to visit Santa Barbara and other ports of this coast, I must also request that the frigate *Rasselas* shall be allowed to remain here for the time that it may be deemed necessary to complete its repairs.

I have the honor of remaining very respectfully your obedient servant.

EDMUND B. KENNEDY.

To His Excellency Don Nicolas Gutierrez, Commanding General and Political Governor of Alta California.

Commodore Kennedy was no doubt taking advantage of his superior strength to coerce the defenceless California authorities into granting demands that he never would have made of a stronger power. Since the demands were based on questionable evidence, there naturally were discrepancies between the testimony of the authorities and that of the complainants, but Kennedy did not stop to investigate them. One is almost inclined to believe that Kennedy was anxious to start a quarrel on any kind of a pretext. Governor Gutierrez, however, put an end to the argument with his last letter on October 29.

16. Following his release from arrest in 1833, Thompson was not molested in any way in his commercial activities. He was free to come and go as he chose. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, IV, chapters on trade.)

17. Such men as Larkin, Spence, Hartnell and others who served in the volunteer company have not one word to say about involuntary service. Bancroft has no record of such coercion and the Mexican archives reveal no reports from California authorities that foreigners were ever asked to render military service. Men like Graham and other trouble-makers who joined the armed forces did so of their own volition and purely for personal gain.

Mr. Commodore:

Monterey, October 29, 1836.

I answer your letter of this date which I just received and I deeply regret that the long explanation that I have made to you upon the Thompson affair has not satisfied you as you wish.

It is true, a long time has elapsed since Mr. Thompson was accused of smuggling, but furthermore, the delay of this affair does not rest with this political and military government. In my Republic, as in that of the North, this class of affair belongs to the judicial power, which power in all free countries such as mine, acts independently of the executive power which I exercise here and it is solely responsible for its actions before the Supreme Court of Justice, without my being able to do anything else but to stimulate it in a general way in the performance of its duty.

Under that supposition, Mr. Thompson is the one who should appeal for the justice which he believes to be his due, before the competent tribunal since he is the interested party. And I must inform Your Excellency that according to my information Mr. Thompson has given no bond whatever in money or in goods, but just a simple deed in which he pledges himself to take the consequences of the judgment, and this is a new reason why I would reaffirm to Your Excellency, that it is not within my jurisdiction to try this case; and that the question reduces itself not to the return of the bail as he has informed Your Excellency, but to canceling it. That is a particular prerogative of the judge, and my intrusion into it, would be to go outside the orbit of my powers and to expose myself to liabilities before the Supreme Government. This in itself prevents me from returning the deed for which you ask me and in its place I promise you that as soon as Mr. Thompson presents himself before me, I shall give him an official note for the judge who has charge of the case, recommending that he administer prompt and impartial justice to him. This is the only step I can take in this affair and one which I shall take with pleasure in honoring the request made by your Excellency.

In regard to what Your Excellency tells me about the military service that Americans have lent here, I say that their rights and privileges will be borne in mind in conformity with the treaty, as it has been done up to date. Nevertheless, they have never been forced to perform the military service, only civil or police service, always voluntary, and under circumstances in which they have recognized the benefits that they received, with the exception of one or two who, perhaps, may have interests in disorder.

If the Frigate *Rasselas* has to finish its repairs, Your Excellency may advise Captain Carter, that he should ask me for the necessary time for them and it shall be granted to him if he can justify his case, and in attention to Your Excellency's mediation.

I have the honor of remaining with all consideration and respect Your Excellency's obedient servant.

NICOLAS GUTIERREZ.

His Excellency Mr. Edmund B. Kennedy, commanding the Asiatic Squadron of the United States, aboard the sloop of war *Peacock*.

In this answer the Governor got the better of the Commodore. It denied the charges, yet it seemed to yield, at the same time it preserved the dignity of the Mexican Government and Governor's authority. This letter seems to have pacified the insistent Commodore, or at least it left him bereft of arguments, so there was nothing else for him to do but to weigh anchor and sail for Santa Barbara, which he did on October 31, 1836. But before he left he received the following letter:¹⁸

Monte-rey, Upper California,
October, 28th, 1836.

Sir,

We the undersigned American Residents, Masters and Supercargoes of American vessels in Monte-rey, desire to return to you their humble and grateful thanks for the lively interest you have been pleased to manifest for our commerce on this coast, and that on the representations of a number of residents and others at the Sandwich Islands, you have been pleased to enter this port for the protection of our interests.

18. Ruschenberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 512-13.

We trust that we sufficiently appreciate the value to us of this visit so highly important to our affairs, and of the increased security we shall feel by your regard to our welfare.

The appearance of a U. S. ship of war on this coast, after so long an interval, and after so long an intercourse between our vessels and this territory, has been highly salutary, and permit us to say, that we heartily and sincerely thank you.

May the remainder of your cruise be pleasant, and your return to the United States all you could desire.

Respectfully yours,

NATHAN SPEAR,

F. D. ATHERTON,

THOS. O. LARKIN,

JOSIAH THOMPSON,

WM. L. HINCKLEY,

WM. M. WARREN,

JOHN MEEK,

THOS. A. NORTON,

A. G. TOMLINSON,

JNO. H. EVERETT,

EDWD. H. FAUCON,

JOS. CARTER,

WILLIAM FRENCH.

To Commodore Edmund B. Kennedy,

Commanding East India Station, U. S. Ship Peacock.

The reasons given by Commodore Kennedy for coming to Monterey were probably correct, although to the Californians the whole thing had a rather suspicious aspect. No doubt it was just a coincidence, but to them it seemed rather odd that he should have come just at that particular time. Only a few months before, affairs in Texas had come to an unfortunate ending, so far as Mexico was concerned, with the surrender of Santa Anna. California, also, had been restless since spring and was now on the eve of a revolution. Just at that moment Commodore Kennedy arrived, and without any preliminaries made certain demands that were clearly meant to embarrass the government. Then too, what was the urgent business that called the Commodore to Santa Barbara, so that he was unable to take time to investigate the truth of the Governor's answers to his charges? It all seemed very mysterious. We can hardly blame the Californians if they suspected that California was soon to become another Texas. In this connection, there are numerous opinions expressed in private correspondence. The excerpt below is a part of a letter written by Don Bernardo Navarrete, who was secretary to Governor Gutierrez, to Don Juan Nepomuseno Lopez Portilla, a friend in Mazatlan. In speaking of the part taken by foreigners in the Alvarado revolt, he said:

¹⁹ Just in those days there arrived at that port the Commodore of the United States, Mr. Edmund B. Kennedy, on a frigate of war which carried 200 men and 22 guns. He acquainted himself fully about the revolution that was being plotted. He announced that he had eight war vessels in these waters to protect the commerce of his country. Owing to this reason the North Americans took a large part in the revolution, and it is thought that this may have some connection with affairs in Texas.¹⁹

Looking at it from this distance we know that nothing came of the Commodore's visit to California. The Commodore, however, aroused further suspicions in Mexico by his actions before he left these waters. From Monterey he sailed for Santa Barbara where he remained several days, until after the revolution had begun. Then he sailed for Mazatlan where he stayed a day or two. While there, although he knew about the California revolution, he failed to mention it to the Mexican authorities and they later remarked upon his silence and wondered why he had not mentioned such important news. It was even suspected that he had played a part in it. Can it be doubted that the Commodore would have liked to have been instrumental in acquiring California for the United States?

GEORGE TAYS.

19. B. Navarrete, to J. N. Lopez Portilla, Cabo de San José Dec. 6, 1836, MS, 52-8-7-1, *Archivo General de Guerra y Marina, Mexico*.

LA CARTA DE FLORES

IT was July twentieth 1845 in the Pueblo de los Angeles. Momentous events had just taken place; events that decided the fate of California.

But eleven days before that day José Maria Flores had stepped ashore at San Pedro from the *Soledad*. His had been a fruitless mission. He had gone to Mexico in the interests of Governor Micheltorena and upon his return had found a new régime in power and his former chief an exile.

And so José Maria Flores, sick abed, took his pen, and, as one loyal Mexican to another, poured out his innermost thoughts to his friend Manuel Castañares, Congressional Representative of California, then in the City of Mexico.

His letter gives the Mexican viewpoint of what was transpiring in California. It now sees the light of day for the first time. It is history; uncovered after a lapse of 88 years—history penned by one whom Americans long remembered with bitterness, for its author later inflicted a sanguinary though momentary check upon the imperial pretensions of the United States.

Kearny's defeat at San Pascual—Gillespie's unavoidable, but none the less ignominious, surrender of Los Angeles were the summits on the road of rebellion along which Flores in 1846, his parole given and then broken, led into valiant action the usually complacent Californians whom he was able to galvanize with tardy courage.

An important figure, this José Maria Flores—a leader, who beheld the effects of the defeat of his superior, Mexican Governor Micheltorena, at the hands of turbulent Castro and his Californian malcontents, and rightly appraised their consequences.

And the background of it all? In 1842 Governor Don Juan Bautista Alvarado had been displaced—Alvarado whose motto was: "California for Californians only;" Alvarado, *hijo del pais*; successful rebel and ouster of the hated Mexican Governor Gutierrez. For two years he and the two Castros, Manuel and José, had bided their time.

In the make-up of the army which Mexico had provided Micheltorena they found what suited their purpose, and their cry rang from San Diego to Sonoma: "Cholos, convicts! Thieves, robbers, murderers!" No one was safe, so they painted the picture. There was much of truth in their accusation. Mexico had made a grave mistake, and under the Castro leadership the most was made of it.

There is humor in the first step of the revolt which followed. Fifty government horses browsed in peaceful Carmel valley, all unmindful of impending revolution. Down upon them swooped Don Manuel Castro. Thus the insurrection found itself mounted and to the Salinas Plains it galloped, thence to Mission San José, where Don José Castro lent it his military prestige.

Governor Micheltorena marched after it with his "cholos." At Santa Teresa he caught up with the "native sons." There were parleys; ceremonious conferences

L. D. Manuel Castañares

Reservada Los Angeles, Alta Calif. Julio 20.
845

Muy muy estimado amigo

Tengo el gusto de participar a v. q. el día 9. de la corriente arribó a estas costas y muy en breve me hallaré en el seno de mi familia y se halla en L. Diego.

Me apresuro a comunicarle el estado político y jurídico del país y a q. si lo tiene p. conveniente lo comunique al Sup. Gobi.

Salúdame a todos sus hermanos, a su apreciable familia, poniéndome a to. pies de su. Trd. repitiéndome
v. muy adicto amigo y seguro sero. q. lo ama y
L. M. B.

José M.^a Flores

Participo a v. q. he visto el plan y proclamanon aqui en la ultima rebelcion y p. el art. 14. de el es permitida en el Departamento la poligamia; y p. el 15. la tolerancia de cultos. ¿Qui tal con la nueva Republica? mucho ha adelantado, particularmente en morab

Facsimile (somewhat reduced) of the opening and closing passages of José M. Flores' remarkable letter to Don Manuel Castañares, from the original in the collection of Douglas S. Watson.

between the leaders in sight of both armies; much blowing of bugles, and with a promise given by the governor to send his "cholos" forthwith to Mexico, Micheltorena marched them back to Monterey.

But a promise and its fulfillment are two quite different things, as Castro and his rancho friends were soon to find out. The "cholos" remained in California, and the spirit of revolt, no longer a mere spectre, grew in strength to become the embodiment of open defiance.

On the Plains of San Fernando in full view of the expectant inhabitants of Los Angeles, massed upon the over-looking heights, came the clash of the two forces; rebels against government—Californians against Mexican Micheltorena and his "cholos," assisted by Johann August Sutter with his foreign legion of Germans and Americans and his trained Indian cohorts.

The casualties? One horse; one gun carriage!

Defection of Sutter's men—they refused to fight against their nationals in Castro's army—decided the issue.

Micheltorena capitulated.

Captain John Paty sailed away in his bark *Don Quixote*, and in her went Micheltorena and his "cholos," leaving Castro's puppet governor, Pio Pico, to rule California in his stead.

Flores and his friend Castañares, Don Manuel, both regarded Generalissimo Castro as a pompous nincompoop, even though he held the real reins of government. Flores saw California headed for disaster. He felt impelled to express himself. Castañares should know how matters stood. And what a tale he had to tell his loyal Mexican friend!

And Don José Maria Flores?

Married to Dolores, daughter of Don Agustin Vicente Zamorano,—Floridan, military man, one time secretary to Micheltorena, and master of California's dawn press which he set up in Monterey,—Flores watched and waited. Before his passing, years later in Mazatlan, he was to rise almost to heroic stature. The courage and loyalty to Mexico that was in the man breathe forth from every sentence filling the twelve pages which carried his estimate of Californian affairs and men in mid-1845 to Manuel Castañares in Mexico.

This Flores letter is a contribution to the history of the Golden State, and an important one.

DOUGLAS S. WATSON.*

*The original manuscript of this important and hitherto unpublished letter from the hand of José Maria Flores is in the collection of Douglas S. Watson, who has courteously authorized its publication, together with the accompanying reproduction of a portion of the manuscript. The translation is by Thomas Workman Temple II.

The Letter

Confidential

Los Angeles de la Alta Califa.

Sr. D. Manuel Castañares—

July 20/845—

My very dear friend:

I take pleasure in telling you that I arrived on these shores the 9th inst. and shall very shortly join my family, now residing in San Diego.

I hasten to communicate to you the political condition of this country, so that if you deem it necessary, you may inform the Supreme Government accordingly.

Upon my arrival here, there had just come from Monterey, Dn. José Castro, self-styled Commanding General escorted by three soldiers and more than twenty officers; the latter promoted by him to serve as his orderlies, and thus to help him squander what little revenue comes in from the Customs. Of course, I spread the news that the Government was sending a new expedition, led by a Commanding General with many resources at his command. I assured the *Californios* that he bears no hostile feelings towards the country nor its inhabitants, for the good intentions of the Supreme Government have always been to maintain a sufficient force here to guarantee National unity, protect the lives and property of all citizens, enforce the laws and thus keep peace and order. Under its auspices, the Department would assuredly prosper, having the protection of the Supreme Government, which today has for its sole object the welfare of the Californias.

I went to see Sr. Castro and informed him accordingly, but that gentleman somewhat coldly answered that he had already despatched your brother [Dn. Josef Castañares] with complete reports for the Government. These described at length the great strides made by the Department, the very best possible under his august rule, and that by no means would it be prudent to send either troops or a General to take command here, since there was no necessity for such rash action: he all the time taking upon himself the task of defending the territorial integrity of the country against any possible invasion.

What do you think of that?

Well, now briefly to outline to you the vast improvements showered upon the Department since the last revolution, which as these gentlemen would have us know, judging from the number of salvos of artillery and public demonstrations, was thoroughly approved by the Supreme Government. All the acts of said revolution were duly recognized, according to Sr. Hijar, the Commissioner here.

I shall begin by recounting the exploits of the Governor [Pio Pico], himself. No doubt you know that, according to one of the unjust articles of the Treaty of Cahuenga, the ship chartered to take the expedition [Micheltorena and his cholos] back to Mexico was to be paid for by the revolutionists; the expense being reckoned at eleven thousand pesos, for which Dn. Pio Pico went surety. At the time of General Micheltorena's departure from San Diego, there anchored at that Port the ship "Tasso" with a cargo from the United States. Immediately, and in viola-

tion of the laws of this country, said ship was seized by order of the Governor and appraised for duty. Alvarado at the time was administrator, and of course he taxed whatever he chose. The duty thus received was at once distributed among the so-called "heroes" of the revolution, since all that the Governor had to do was to issue drafts against the ship, when and as they were demanded.

On the other hand, we find Alvarado and Castro, toasting each other's health, and in general behaving scandalously. Only two thousand pesos were ever paid the ship carrying away the expedition. There was soon improvised a sumptuous palace for the Governor, who furnished it luxuriously at an expense of four thousand pesos. Even the furniture of the ill-fated Ship "Tasso" was stripped therefrom, to pay delinquent duty. The General Assembly has been in session, but not a thing was accomplished, except the issuing of countless drafts.

In this state of affairs, the heroes of the Northern Division of the Department, after finishing with the "Tasso," marched hastily for Monterey in order to appraise for duty another U. S. vessel, the "California," but recently arrived at that Port. The revenue received was soon parcelled out among the favorites of Castro and Alvarado, amid a great round of fancy dress balls, drinking bouts, games, salvos of artillery and what not.

They finished with the duty from the "California" without giving a thought to their southern compatriots. Soon there arrived another vessel which met the same fate. The Governor issued drafts for payment upon the Custom House, the Commissary, yea, even upon the Eternal Father. These orders were properly endorsed but no attention was ever paid them. The Governor named the Alcaldes, and Castro fired them all, and appointed one Gabriel de la Torre, who is at present *Alcalde, Juez de Hacienda* and *Presidente del Tribunal Superior*. Castro has more than twenty Captains and subaltern officers in the Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery units in actual service, and other auxiliary officers in reserve, all drawing full pay, but sadly lacks a standing army. It thus happens that, as in the Republic, there are comparatively more Generals than soldiers; so here in California, we find eighty officers, the greater part Captains, and only fifty soldiers, of which twenty-five are stationed in Monterey and the rest here. The only difference between them being, that those in the south are paid by Governor Pico and those in the north by that other "Governor" or rather "Viceroy" Dn. Josef de Castro.

From the moment the Governor became aware that his drafts had been ignored; that Castro had fired the Alcaldes; that the people of the south had just about as much use for him, as something that is stepped on and left behind; and that all official acts were being received with indifference, there began the keen rivalry and animosity between the north and the south. It has come to such a pass that one is sure that Castro has come down here, not at the bidding of the Government Commissioner (whom he wanted to embarrass), but rather to stir up trouble in the Pueblo, whose Father and Defender he claims to be, and further, to proclaim himself against the Government, by attacking the Port. To this effect, Alvarado, who is recruiting supporters among the rancheros of the Monterey district, will no doubt lend a hand at the proper time.

My arrival here, with the news that Sr. Iniestra and reliable forces were coming, has somewhat curbed the pride of Castro, Carrillo, and the officers who surround them; these latter publicly manifest that they will resist to the last any expedition sent here. In the drunken brawls and disorderly conduct of Castro, something not infrequent, he openly demonstrates his hostile intentions, and what little respect he has for the Government's orders, i.e. to surrender command to whomever may come. It seems that, having once tasted of authority, his appetite is not likely to be readily appeased. He has assumed control over the Custom House, and chiefly over the interests of private individuals, who trust neither him nor his officers, because with the utmost impunity, they are wont to run over any one who stands in their way.

The whole Department is in disorder and the peaceful citizens are greatly alarmed, since nothing rules here but brute force, wielded at the will of so profligate a man as Castro, who, in order to keep his soldiers at his side, must tolerate all their shameful actions, which are aimed in particular at the few Mexicans found in the Department, and against whom they manifest an all-consuming hatred.

You may be sure, my good friend, that if the Government does not immediately send forces and a General, the foreigners here will demand from their respective Governments protection of lives and property; for they fear, according to the atrocities already committed, that these bandits will soon fall upon them. There are British and French men-of-war already in these waters, and they soon expect a North American ship.

What I am about to relate now I gathered from reading the briefs and reports entrusted to Dn. Pepe [Dn. Josef Castaños], and I hardly believe that they will misinform the Supreme Government, as those who sent him would desire, and let us hope that he will not personally confirm these lies of Castro.

After the multitude of misrepresentations which he enumerates concerning the great improvements in this country, and the solid organization of the armed forces, he has the courage to boast of four Presidial companies, and of two more that are being organized. He then compromises himself, by undertaking to defend the entire territory against foreign invasion, for which emergency he claims to have the Department well armed. He even demands three thousand pesos monthly, stores of ammunition, and even complete regalia for his army once a year, according to its needs.

What Castro actually has accomplished, I will now relate. As to the improvements of the country, its well-being and tranquillity, you may well imagine what peace and order actually exist here, from what I have already told you, and what great civic strides are possible, with so many men trying to rule. With regard to the force organized to defend the country, he has placed not six presidial companies, but rather a whole army, with the single difference that it is composed largely of Battalion and Squadron Commanders, Captains and subalterns in all the different units, all drawing full pay, but not one soldier is to be found among them. The quality of these officers is the lowest, their sole duty being to help their chiefs dissipate the monies of the nation. To such men as these has Castro had

the audacity to propose a Government of his own, in order that they may grab those high offices and positions, which they, as individuals, could never hope to attain, let alone perform.

Therefore, my dear friend, it is imperative that you make known these facts to the Government, and the infamous way in which Castro would take advantage of it, for he boasts that it will second all his recommendations, and grant whatever he asks of its Commissioner.

It seems to me impossible that the Government, in view of the expenses of this expedition, and after knowing the truth of the matter, should waver from its purpose, or delay for one minute the coming of troops. Otherwise California might be lost if any nation should come in, and justifiably so, to punish and restrain these barbarians, and no doubt they are such, when as it often happens, they are steeped in liquor. So you see that the lives and property of all are at the mercy of these immoral and corrupt individuals. And these are the very same who would rule California for all time. Heaven forbid! You as *Diputado* for the Department and as a friend of all loyal Mexicans living here, I hope will do all you can to rescue us from this deplorable state. In their name I beg of you, and in the name of the Fatherland, and I call upon you to be my witness, that I, too, as a friend ask it, in honor of the friendship that binds us.

The Government has nothing to fear from a revolution here for you know how cowardly the people are. But it would be well for Sr. Iniestra or whoever is sent, to come well informed, so as not to be misguided by the demonstrations of loyalty to the Government, which are being made to ward off its vigilance, so that these men may have a longer time in which to delay justice. Thanks to the rivalry between these factions and the taking of the Custom House, the Government may today count among its loyal supporters the people of the south, and wherever are to be found sane and peace-loving men. But it is prudent that whoever comes be very cautious and not waste a minute, for the North American rifles, as you know, are on the "qui vive" and will lend aid to whomever may ask it. Let us try to avoid a repetition of what happened in Texas at the time of the revolution for Independence.

The ship I came on, and which awaits the official mails, together with the returns of the election held by the assembly for President of the Republic, is the same by which I write you all this. Sr. Hajar, the Commissioner, will write you at length of affairs here. The Governor will do likewise, and he as well as Castro are agreed on one thing, that no Mexican shall ever be Governor here. Castro will tell you again that the country is peaceful and loyal toward the Government. I am informed by very good authority, that four days after the departure of the ship with the mails, there will be a general uprising by all the armed forces of Castro and his allies, denying obedience to the Supreme Government and inviting the whole Department to join in complete secession. The numerous meetings at Castro's house and his many suspicious actions almost make me believe that there is something brewing. It is very necessary then that you remind the Supreme Government. Otherwise there is but a hollow victory awaiting the troops. Let them come at once.

I am sick abed as I write you, so please excuse my mistakes. My family is in San Diego, and I don't expect to see it till I feel better, and even that favor may be denied me, for already someone has told me that they are planning to send me into the interior. But I hardly think they have such mean hearts, for they are all cowards anyway. Please do not publish this letter, for if troops fail to come, and it should fall into the hands of these individuals, poor me!

The Government mails are due here from Mazatlan every month, so you have no excuse for not informing me of everything that has happened. However, if troops do come, do not write me at all concerning that, since all mail will fall into their hands and be censored.

My kindest regards to your brothers and your esteemed family. Placing myself at the feet of your wife, again I repeat my very kindest wishes,

JOSÉ MARIA FLORES

[RUBRIC]

P. S. I have seen a copy of the Plan proposed by the last revolution, and Article XIV permits Polygamy in the Department, and Article XV permits the Toleration of all creeds.

What do you think of our new Republic? It certainly has improved, especially in morals.

[RUBRIC]



THE MORRENHOUT ADOBE, MONTEREY, AS IT APPEARS TODAY
Reproduced from HANNAFORD & EDWARDS' *Spanish Colonial or Adobe Architecture of California*

THE FRENCH CONSULATE IN CALIFORNIA
1843-1856

PART II

THE INCUMBENCY OF MOERENHOUT

THE appointment of Jacob Antoine Moerenhout to the post of Consul of France at Monterey was for him the culmination of an adventurous career, and the reward for services rendered in assisting in the spread of French influence and empire in the Pacific.¹ Unlike his predecessor, the obscure Gasquet, who was seemingly elevated from the lower ranks of the foreign service for lack of a better candidate, Moerenhout was, by a "wholly exceptional measure," appointed from private life to the full rank of consul because of the confidence he had earned by his "devotion to his [Majesty's] service" in the post of consular agent at Tahiti during the critical times in Oceania.

Born in 1796 or 1797 in Elchern, Province of Antwerp, in the Netherlands only shortly after its occupation by the French revolutionary forces,² Moerenhout was educated in France, and as a youth of fifteen enlisted in the corps of engineers of Napoleon's *Grand Armée*, in which he served from June 13, 1812, to May 6, 1814.³ After a year or two at his home in what is now Belgium, he returned to Paris in 1817 or 1818 and engaged in the study of art, becoming expert in the difficult profession of "miniature" painting.

It appears that even at this period the youth felt a desire to enter the diplomatic service, and it was possibly in connection with that aim that he went to Chile in 1826 on a merchant vessel,⁴ and set himself up as a merchant. He was evidently a shrewd businessman, and is said to have made and lost several fortunes during his stay in South America,⁵ chiefly in trade with the Islands of the South Seas. In five years he lost no less than five vessels,⁶ and personally made a number of voyages to Oceania, where he made careful notes on the ethnology, anthropology, customs, language, religion and social conditions of the people, as well as on the economic resources of the islands. These researches resulted in the publication, some years later, of his monumental *Voyages aux Iles du Grand Océan* (Paris, 1837), and gave to Moerenhout a lasting reputation as an authority on the subject.

He also had commercial dealings at this time with Cobija (Bolivia), and incorporated his notes on the subject in his volume. But his heart was in the South Seas, and by means of voyages to Tahiti in 1829, 1830 and 1834, during much of which time he lived on that island, he became the proprietor of the largest mercantile establishment in that area, carrying on trade with both Europe and South America. Young Queen Pomaré, of Tahiti, was separated from her husband, and the gallant young Frenchman became friendly—even intimate—with her.⁷ He also developed certain diplomatic connections, acting for a time as Consular Agent of the Netherlands at Valparaíso.⁸

Moerenhout, who had married a Chilean woman, definitely transferred his interests to the Society Islands in the year 1834. France was at that time engaged in solidifying her interests in Oceania, and Moerenhout soon found himself involved in the intrigues and rivalries which were to result in the carving out of a French empire in the Pacific.

Soon after determining to cast his lot with Oceania, Moerenhout made a voyage to France by way of the United States. While in Paris he associated with the leading scientists and geographers, and in June, 1835, completed the two volumes of his celebrated work on his Voyages to the Islands of the Great Ocean. Moreover, President Jackson, recognizing his knowledge of the local situation, appointed him Consul of the United States at Otaïti on January 19, 1835, and the Belgian Ambassador at Washington took occasion to write him to express his personal congratulations.⁹

Returning to Oceania, Moerenhout found himself in a whirlpool of intrigue, resulting from the activities of Protestant and Catholic missionaries. The former had obtained the first foothold in Tahiti, with the result that the latter were denied admittance. Moerenhout at once organized a political group, known first as the Catholic party, but soon called the French party. He was joined by many discontented native chiefs, and while the Protestants were angered by this action (since he was the American consul), he proved their equal in intrigue, though often under grave physical danger. He was, in fact, seriously wounded at one time, and when Du Petit-Thouars visited Tahiti in August, 1838, he found his countryman convalescing from his injuries.¹⁰ His wife was now dead, and his daughter had been placed in a convent in Chile.¹¹

The expeditions of Dumont d'Urville¹² and Laplace¹³ followed upon that of Du Petit-Thouars, with the result that the Catholic religion was accorded full recognition in Tahiti. Du Petit-Thouars appointed Moerenhout as French Consul (or consular agent) in that region,¹⁴ and in 1842 established a provisional government under French control and named Moerenhout Royal Commissioner.¹⁵ He had by this time been succeeded as United States Consul by M. S. W. Blockler.

It does not appear that Moerenhout held his new position for long. In 1843 Captain Bruat was named *Commissaire du Roi* at the Court of Queen Pomaré, and Moerenhout was even denied his salary as consul, on the ground that the Protectorate admitted of no such office, though he was made a member of the Governmental Council. Captain Du Petit-Thouars remained his friend, however, and it was possibly through the efforts of that officer that Moerenhout was, on April 26, 1845, appointed Consul of the Second Class with residence at Monterey, Upper California, at an annual salary of 15,000 francs. He received the news of this appointment in March, 1846, and though delayed by the outbreak of war in Tahiti, soon left for his new post, and arrived in California in October.

After the unfortunate, though somewhat comic, clash with the inept Gasquet, he entered at once upon the duties of French Consul. For the rest of his long life he was to call California his home. As Consul, Moerenhout worked hard and faithfully reported his findings and efforts to his government. Thoroughly French

in attitude, he looked at the world through "French colored glasses," and his patriotism seems at times to have influenced his judgment in respect to claims of French citizens against the American military authorities then in possession of the territory. His accounts of the war then being waged are especially detailed, and on more than one occasion he (like Gasquet) urged French occupation of the country. But he also reported fully and accurately the social, industrial and commercial developments, and the discovery of coal, quicksilver and gold.

Immediately upon learning of Marshall's discovery at Coloma he made a tour of the mining district, which he entered just as Colonel Richard B. Mason, the American Military Governor, was leaving it. He visited the entire region, and his report far excels Mason's, though quite naturally Moerenhout emphasizes the activities of French citizens in the area.

He frequently visited the Bay of San Francisco, and attempted to appoint one Emile Jourdain consular agent at that port. Later, when Patrice Dillon, French Consul at Honolulu, appointed an agent at San Francisco, Moerenhout vehemently but unsuccessfully protested.

Moerenhout did, however, serve French interests well as Consul at Monterey, and in his visits to all parts of the rapidly developing region he sought to guide and regulate French emigration and commerce in the country. As a result of the revolution of 1848 in France, however, the Consulate at Monterey was suppressed, though he remained in charge until 1850, when he returned to France to attempt to obtain a reappointment.¹⁶

On March 11, 1852, the Prince President Louis Napoleon, appointed him "Vice Consular agent at Monterey with title of Honorary Consul of the Second Class" (replacing M. Lombard who had been acting at that point) at a salary of 6,000 francs and all receipts of the office, subordinate, however, to the French Consul at San Francisco, then M. Dillon.¹⁷ He returned at once to California. During his absence his house at Monterey had been sold at auction at a great loss to him, and Monterey had meanwhile lost most of its importance as the former capital of the Californias. It was no longer visited by commercial vessels, and it was no longer the port of entry for immigrants.

His dispatches during this second incumbency at Monterey have not all been seen by the writer, due to certain restrictions imposed by the French Foreign Office, but the reports here printed detail the political events of the new State, including the affairs of the Vigilance committees and the Dillon affair, in which the Consul at San Francisco came into conflict with the Federal authorities. In 1859 the Vice-consulate at Monterey was transferred to Los Angeles, where Moerenhout was impressively inaugurated on October 29.¹⁸ He took up these new duties with enthusiasm, and became widely known and greatly respected in Southern California. He was instrumental in the development of the "French Benevolent Society" in Los Angeles in 1860, and served as its first president.¹⁹ The next year he sent Los Angeles cotton to the Paris Exhibition, and at his residence he presided in 1876 over an enthusiastic celebration of the centenary of American independence.

Late in the seventies the economic "pinch" then being suffered by the Third Republic in France led to the suppression of the Vice-consulate at Los Angeles. Moerenhout wrote to his banker in Paris that, "This announcement strikes me at a very fatal moment," his property being then unsaleable. He asked for consideration of his old age and forty years of service, and at least to be allowed enough to make it possible for him to continue to live in California, where the climate was favorable to his asthma, for "the short time that is still left to me to live."²⁰ The suppression dated from May 20, 1879, but a special salary was allowed him—8,000 francs (his full salary) to May 1, 1879, and 3,500 francs thereafter.²¹ On July 11, however, he died at his home on Main Street, near Third.²²

Jacob Antoine Moerenhout was a rather handsome man, honest, upright and active. He was a typical Frenchman, a good observer, but always a bit anti-American and pro-French in attitude. In Monterey he owned a spacious home, with a beautiful rose garden, shrubs and trees, but of late the old house on Fremont Street has suffered from neglect and has fallen into decay.

Moerenhout was profoundly interested in many lines of endeavor. As a miniature portraitist he was able, after a commercial disaster in Chile, to recoup his fortunes. He was also a civil engineer and a remarkably able rifleman. As a research student, he made his mark for all time in his volumes on the Islands of the Pacific. For many years he corresponded with divers learned societies in France on subjects geographical, anthropological and social, and was a member and vice-president of the *Institut d'Afrique*, and a member of the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* and of the *Société Orientale*. He published several volumes and papers in addition to his celebrated *Voyages*.

Better informed and more experienced than his predecessor Gasquet, Moerenhout nevertheless strove to achieve similar objects and aims during his incumbency at Monterey. His reports were more authoritative and disclosed a better balance. They were likewise less denunciatory in tone, and they were no doubt received with more confidence and respect at Paris than either those of Gasquet or of Lombard, who followed Moerenhout after his departure for Paris in 1850.

ABRAHAM P. NASATIR.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO

1. Dr. Edwin M. Clinton, of Los Angeles, a great-grandson of Moerenhout, has been of inestimable assistance in preparing this sketch of his career, as has also his sister, Mrs. J. A. Rickman, of Danville. Many documents and other materials in their possession have been generously placed at the writer's disposal. Others who have assisted are Su Excelentísima Maria Antonia Field, of Monterey; Mrs. Leona P. Woods, of Los Angeles, and officials of the French Consulate at Los Angeles. Dr. Elizabeth McPike Brown and Mr. Walter T. Phillips, of the State College at San Diego, and Mr. George Ezra Dane, of San Francisco, have also given their aid in the translation of documents and the preparation of this introduction. Among the works consulted are Loyer and Beaudreau's *Le Guide Français de Los Angeles et du Sud de la Californie*, Los Angeles, 1932; Moerenhout's own *Voyages aux Iles du Grand Océan* . . . Paris, 1837 (an important source book on the South Pacific region) hereinafter cited as "*Voyages*"; his "Notice sur Plusieurs Voyages et sur un Séjour de plus de six Années dans les Iles de la Société et dans Plusieurs autres des Archipels de l'Océanie," in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Paris, January, 1835 (pp. 22-35); Eugene Caillot's *Histoire de la Polynésie Orientale*, Paris, 1910; Abel du Petit-Thouars' *Voyage Autour du Monde* . . . , Paris, 1840-44; R. Lovett's *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, London, 1899; M. Russel's *Polynesia*

... , London, 1853; M. Lucett's *Rovings in the Pacific*, London, 1851; K. L. Martin's *Missionaries and Annexation in the Pacific*, London, 1924; S. Charlety's *La Monarchie de Juillet 1830-1848* (Vol. V of Ernest Laviss's (ed.) *Histoire de la France Contemporaine*), Paris, 1921, and the *British Parliamentary Papers* for 1843 and 1844. The writer understands that M. Jore, formerly Governor of the "Etablissements Français de l'Océanie" at Papeete, and now Governor of New Caledonia, is at present engaged in preparing a biography of Moerenhout.

2. The *Etat de Service* of Moerenhout, Paris, Oct. 17, 1851, gives the date as Jan. 17, 1796, but the *Carte de domicile* granted him in Paris in 1852 gives March 5, 1797. Both documents are in Dr. Clinton's collection.

3. Mr. Modran, in his eulogy of Moerenhout at his funeral, declared that Moerenhout served in the battles of Lutzen, Bautzen and Leipzig.

4. In a notebook in Dr. Clinton's possession, Moerenhout states that the voyage occupied 110 days. (See also his *Voyages*, I, pp. 3-10.) Copies of letters in the notebook give full descriptions of Chile and its people.

5. Information from Dr. Clinton. But see *Voyages*, I, xi.

6. *Voyages*, I, xi-xii.

7. Respecting Queen Pomaré see Caillot, *op. cit.*, who declares that she married in 1834, became a widow in 1873 and died at Papeete in 1877. She was the mother of six legitimate children, and at least one illegitimate son. (See *ibid.*, I, 331-32.) Information received from Dr. Clinton.

8. Letter, Carlos Rodriguez to Consul of the Netherlands at Santiago, Feb. 23, 1828, and proclamation of Dutch Consul at Valparaiso, Feb. 25, 1828, both in Clinton collection.

9. Baron Behr to Moerenhout, Jan. 24, 1835, in Clinton collection.

10. Caillot, *op. cit.*, 171-79.

11. Letter, Ortey (?) to Moerenhout, May 5, 1843, in Clinton collection.

12. Dumont d'Urville, J. S. C., *Voyage Pittoresque autour du Monde*, Paris, 1833-44.

13. Laplace, *Campagne de Circumnavigation de la Fregate l'Artémise* . . . (6 vols.), Paris, 1841-54.

14. Report of Du Petit-Thouars, June 24, 1839, in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Series, Nouvelle Acquisition, Vol. 9447, folio 60. Also original letter and order of Du Petit-Thouars in Clinton collection, and Du Petit-Thouars, *Voyage*, II, 339.

15. Order of appointment, dated at Papeete, Sept. 15, 1842, in Clinton collection. A long and remarkable letter from Thiers to Moerenhout, dated March 18, 1840, and discussing French aims in Oceania, is also in the collection. In it the great French statesman declares:

"I am pleased to recognize, Monsieur, the fortunate influence which your wise advice and the part which you took in the negotiations have had in the peaceful conclusion of this affair."

Caillot, *op. cit.*, gives an extended account of French activities in Tahiti.

16. Numerous documents in the Clinton collection refer to this visit to France.

17. The original of the appointment to this post is in the possession of Mrs. J. A. Richman. A duplicate is in the Clinton collection. Turgot (?) to Moerenhout, Paris, March 22, 1852, in Clinton collection. After Moerenhout left for France E. Guys served as French Consul in San Francisco until the arrival of Patrice Dillon. J. Lombard was appointed Vice Consul at Monterey to succeed Moerenhout.

18. Newmark, Harris, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, p. 254. The original of the appointment to this post is in the Clinton collection. It was made in the name of the Emperor by the French Consul at San Francisco, Abel Frédéric Gautier.

19. Loyer and Beaudreau, *op. cit.*

20. Incomplete letter to Fleury Hérard, Los Angeles, May 20, 1879, in Clinton collection.

21. Letters in Clinton collection.

22. The French Foreign Office in part indemnified Moerenhout's daughter for his funeral expenses, to the extent of 500 francs. The *Sacramento Record-Union* for July 12, 1879, contained the following notice of Moerenhout's death:

Los Angeles, July 11th.—J. A. Moerenhout, Vice Consul of the Republic of France at Los Angeles, died in this city this afternoon, aged 83 years. The last appearance in public of M. Moerenhout was on the 4th of July, when he participated in the celebration, wearing his Consular uniform. He entered the Consular service of France in 1827, and has been in office in various parts of the world almost continuously since that time, and in 1859 he was granted permission to retire with the honorary title of Vice Consul of France at Los Angeles, where he was held in high esteem for his many virtues. He retained to a remarkable degree the full possession of all his faculties. His funeral will take place at 9 o'clock on Sunday morning.

THE MOERENHOUT DOCUMENTS

I

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO MOERENHOUT

(Box Monterey; Minutes; Direction Commerciale; Bureau d'Amérique et des Indes. No. 1. Sent by Navy, June 25, 1845. Addressed: M. Moerenhout, at Tahiti.)

Paris, June 6, 1845

I have the honor of informing you, Monsieur, that the King has been pleased, upon my proposition, and by the ordinance of the twenty-sixth of April last, to name you Consul of the second class with residence at Monterey (California). In this capacity you will enjoy an annual salary of fifteen thousand francs.

In opening to you the career of Consul, by [this] wholly exceptional measure, His Majesty wished to recompense the devotion to his service of which you have given proof. It pleases me to think, Monsieur, that you will bend all your efforts to justify in your new functions, the favor of which you are the object.

Receive, Sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.¹

[GUIZOT]

II

[Copy, unsigned]

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Moerenhout; Received Oct. 19 [or 20] 1846)

Monsieur le Ministre:

Papeete, April 14, 1846.

[Four paragraphs omitted.]

Imbued with gratitude for what His Majesty and Your Excellency have so kindly done for me, I occupied myself immediately [upon receipt of my appointment] in settling up the business which I still have in these Islands, to the end that I might as soon as possible betake myself to my post; but no opportunity having as yet presented itself, and war having broken out anew in Tahiti,¹ Governor Bruat, charged by the Minister of the Navy with procuring for me the means of getting to my new destination, announced to me that he desires to keep me here until the arrival of Rear-Admiral Hamelin, whom he expects during the course of this month, in order to come to an understanding with him respecting the procuring, for me of suitable means of conveying me to my post.²

1. On Aug. 6, 1845, Vice-Admiral Baron de Mackau, Minister of the Navy and of the Colonies, wrote from Paris to the Governor of the French Establishment in Oceania that the Minister of Foreign Affairs had sent to Moerenhout, "formerly Consular agent in the Society Islands," advice of his appointment as Consul at Monterey, and directed that steps be taken to convey him to his new post. On Nov. 2, 1845, Guizot wrote to Moerenhout that he had sent his consular papers to Baron Alleye de Cyprey, French Minister to Mexico, requesting the procuration of the necessary exequatur from the Mexican Government. The documents, together with a letter with which was enclosed a copy of the Royal Ordinance of April 26, are in the Clinton collection.

1. See Lucett, *Rovings in the Pacific* . . . , London, 2 vols., 1851, respecting these events in Tahiti. An excellent account of the matter is to be found in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, article "Tahiti." See also article on Admiral Hamelin.

2. Moerenhout did not reach Monterey until October 1. (See Document III.) An excellent account of the events in Tahiti based upon researches in the French archives is contained in A. C. Eugène Caillot's *Histoire de la Polynésie Orientale* (Paris, 1910), Part I, especially pp. 143-281. The activities of Du Petit-Thouars, Bruat, and Hamelin are there recounted. Pages 521-600 contain documents bearing upon the difficulties in Tahiti.

I beg of you, Monsieur le Ministre, to accept the assurance of my profound respect and of my sincere gratitude with which I have the honor of being,

Your Excellency's very humble and
obedient servant

J. A. MOERENHOUT³

III

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Correspondence Politique, Série Mexique, Vol. 34, folios 271-74 *verso*. Moerenhout Official Correspondence No. 1.)

Monterey, October 6, 1846.

Monsieur le Ministre:¹

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that, leaving Callao August seventh, on board the corvette *Brillante*, commanded by M. de Bouzet, I arrived at Monterey the first of this month, after having touched at San Francisco, where the corvette had to put in in order to take on water.

Upon our arrival at San Francisco on September twenty-third, we were informed that, as the result of war between the United States and Mexico, the American Commodore Sloat had raised the American flag at Monterey on July seventh, and at San Francisco on the ninth of the same month, and that Commodore Stockton had thereafter taken possession of all of Upper California. At that time there was only one American war vessel at San Francisco, the corvette *Portsmouth*;² she was anchored near the village of Yerba Buena, where a few American soldiers were engaged in building a fort, with the cannon of the old Spanish *castillo*. It is at that point, it appears, that they intend to locate their principal establishment.

Immediately after our arrival at San Francisco, we were likewise informed by various persons that there had been trouble between the American commodores and M. Gasquet, Acting Consul at Monterey. The latter, it was said, had protested against the taking of possession, had refused to recognize the American authorities, and [being] accused of having had communications with General Castro after the beginning of hostilities in California, had been notified to retire to the interior of the country or be placed under arrest in his home.

M. de Bouzet had been aboard the American corvette, but her commander had said nothing to him relative to the difficulties with the French Consul at Monte-

3. A letter of farewell from one de Carpegna, a member of the Provisional Government of the Protectorate, dated at Tapai, May 20, 1846, is in the Clinton collection. In it the writer expresses his hope that Moerenhout may at Monterey have "a happier and more tranquil existence" than that which he had had "during the past few years at Tahiti," and adds that he believes that "nothing better could have happened" to Moerenhout.

1. For Gasquet's account of the events discussed in this letter see Part I, *supra*.

2. The *Portsmouth* (commanded by Capt. John B. Montgomery) was a United States man-of-war which was in Pacific waters from April, 1846, to late in 1847. It was a group from this vessel that raised the United States flag in Yerba Buena (San Francisco) on July 9, 1846, in the plaza that was later to be known as "Portsmouth Square."

rey, and as Commander Stockton himself arrived at San Francisco on September twenty-seventh on the frigate *Congress*, I accompanied the commander of the *Brillante* to Yerba Buena, in order to be presented to the Commodore in my capacity of French Consul, and in order to avoid by this step a correspondence which might have occasioned fresh disputes. Indeed, after I had been presented as French Consul at Monterey,³ the Commodore at once offered me a letter to the American authorities at Monterey, and expressed himself in a convincing manner that he desired to preserve good harmony and that he was well disposed to favor French interests in this country. He informed us that he intended to reduce port charges, *frais d'anchorage*, etc., against foreign whaling vessels putting into ports of Upper California, and would permit them to sell a certain amount of merchandise or articles of their cargo sufficient for payment of port charges [*frais de relâche*], etc. He likewise said that a vessel captured under the Mexican flag had been released by his orders immediately upon proof that it was the property of Frenchmen. He then spoke to us of the arguments he had had with M. Gasquet, Acting French Consul at Monterey, who, as he claimed, had not merely refused to recognize his authority, but had protested and objected to everything that he had done; and inasmuch as M. Gasquet did not cease talking against the new order of things, and since among intercepted letters there had been found one addressed by General Castro to M. Gasquet, he [the Commodore] had found himself under the necessity of requiring him to withdraw or to remain in his home. "Nevertheless," he added, "as soon as the country was quiet I hastened to give orders to allow him to go about freely."⁴

As for the difficulties that had arisen with Commodores Sloat and Stockton, I believe that they could have been, if not avoided entirely, at least given a somewhat less bitter character. I likewise think that Commodore Stockton acted with considerable rudeness toward M. Gasquet, and that neither in his correspondence nor in his acts did he observe either the proprieties or the regard due the position of M. Gasquet. However, as the government of the King is in possession of all the documents that can throw light on this matter, I have not thought it my duty to revert to it. Therefore, while awaiting instructions from Your Excellency, I shall exercise my functions, provisionally recognizing the American authorities, in order that I may demand justice and protection for French residents of this country, if need be, and I shall endeavor to maintain good relations with both sides, nevertheless observing under all circumstances the most strict neutrality. In that way, I shall be acting, I believe, in accordance with the intentions of the King's Government, and will be approved, I trust, by Your Excellency.

3. The arrival was reported in the *Californian*, Saturday, Oct. 3, 1846, as follows:

"The French Corvette *Brillante*, commanded by E. du Bouzet, arrived in our bay on Thursday evening. She is last from San Francisco, at which place she arrived in 48 days from Callao, her Captain whom we met elsewhere, combines the accomplishments of the officer and gentleman, all her officers are an armament to the French service [sic]."

"The *Brillante* has on board M. Morenhant Esq., consul from His Majesty of France, for Monterey. He has been recognized in his official capacity by the Governor General of California, and is to hoist his consulate flag. His good reputation has preceded him, and he will receive from the whole community a cordial reception."

4. Here follows the account of Gasquet's refusal to go aboard the *Brillante* on the ground that the captain owed him "the first visit," as quoted in the Introduction to Part I, *supra*.

Having arrived so recently, it is impossible for me to furnish Your Excellency with many details regarding recent events or the condition of the country. I will merely remark, that this people, [after] suffering for several years from despotism and the disorder of anarchy, would perhaps have congratulated themselves upon the events which have just taken place, had it been a Catholic nation that had possessed itself of their country, or some nation other than the American. I will say, too, that despite the very marked estrangement which appears to exist between them and the American people, and despite the strong prejudices of religious difference, they have suffered so much from the absolute abandon of the American [Mexican] Government and from the exactions and despotism of the incapable, greedy, and badly intentioned rulers who have been at the head of that country's affairs, that, for the mere guarantee that their religion and their rights would be respected, they would quickly console themselves for the loss of their nationality, in the hope that at last the country might enjoy in peace the wealth and enjoyment offered by a land full of resources and riches.

They all feel, however, that, having been dominated by the party or individual who had at his command two or three hundred men, or only a hundred Americans, called "riflemen"—a new kind of buccaneer, bolder, more terrible and with more savage customs than the buccaneers of old—they feel that resistance is now useless, since the interior of their country is invaded by a numerous force of these redoubtable men, paid by their Government [and] commanded by American officers, and all of their ports are in the possession of warships of the same nation. Moreover, when, a few weeks ago, Generals Castro and Alvarado, still at the head of some five hundred men at Los Angeles, were determined to defend themselves, those under their command, very brave men, but nearly all of them fathers of families, remonstrated. "This unequal struggle," they said, "which is bound sooner or later to bring us certain defeat or death, will likewise unquestionably bring misfortune to our families, by leaving them exposed to all the severity and vengeance of the victors. Since Mexico is to blame for the war which is being waged against us, why does she not send troops to help us defend her rights?"

Thus discouraged, nearly all of them retreated, and on the arrival of Commodore Stockton at Los Angeles with five hundred men, of whom more than two hundred were riflemen, Castro and Alvarado had less than two hundred men, and were obliged to retreat. Alvarado was caught unawares and compelled to surrender. Castro, deserted and alone, crossed the frontier of Upper California with only ten or twelve men, nearly all of whom were from his own estates [?]. I have this fact from Alvarado himself, with whom I am temporarily lodged.

Such being the state of affairs, the people have no hope save in the intervention of the governments of France and England, and I doubt very much whether they would voluntarily resubmit to Mexican government and continue exposed to the unjust acts of those of their compatriots who, at the head of a few foreigners, put themselves in power and govern them as dictators. These governments, without power to do good, have unceasingly overwhelmed the peaceable and respectable inhabitants, and by their arbitrary and continuous exactions, either to enrich

themselves or to favor those who have aided them in their usurpation, have so greatly discouraged the respectable and substantial folk of this country that, if it were not for the question of religion, many would preferably remain as they are rather than come again under the domination of Mexico and of the disorderly governments which have followed one another in her name.

As a matter of fact, Monsieur le Ministre, Your Excellency could hardly imagine the disorder which existed in this country at the time of the arrival of the American forces. [The country was] exposed to the invasions of these barbarous and redoubtable bands of hunters, called "riflemen," who, after having served various parties, were beginning to dream, in accord with other Americans, of acting for themselves by declaring the country independent, with the object, it seems, thereafter to unite it with the United States. [It was] exposed to the thievery and rapine of the California Indians, in respect to whom the various inept governments which have followed one another failed to make even the slightest provision, following the destruction of the Missions. For instead of trying to secure the allegiance of these simple natives, held by a semblance of religion but still without the slightest civilization, by at least letting them have a few spiritual guides, their sole tie to society, they immediately left them to shift for themselves. Maltreated, driven from their lands and robbed of everything, as were likewise their pastors, nearly all of them returned to the interior, among the savage hordes, whence, knowing the ground, they conduct raids that cause the desolation of the country.

Worse than all of this, all California finds itself almost without public religious organization, for since the destruction of the Missions and the expulsion of the greater part of the missionaries, not even the slightest precaution has been taken to replace them by a sufficient number of secular priests, and the number [of the latter] is today so limited that, in many places where there are two or three hundred inhabitants divine service is held only once or twice a year, either to celebrate Easter or the festival of the local saint.

In a land where one is without a religious organization one is soon without religion, with the result that good morals suffer from this continual forgetfulness of all religious duties. The men of substance recognize this and deplore it, and many of them would almost consent to live under a government and with a people which professes another religion, were they sure that their own would remain free and would be well protected.

They say that there is a [rebellious] movement at Los Angeles, where the entire American force consists of an officer and thirty riflemen who find themselves surrounded by a body [of men] whose number is not as yet known. Alvarado believes that this move is not a political one. He thinks that the revolt is solely against the Americans who are there, brought about by their conduct toward the inhabitants. Others believe that these are forces from Sonora, that they are numerous, and that Castro is at their head. At the time of the departure of the courier, who had trav-

elled one hundred and fifty leagues in five days,⁵ the small American force had been besieged and one of their men had been killed.

I have the honor to be, with the most profound respect,

Your Excellency's very humble and obedient servant,

J. A. MOERENHOUT,
Consul of France.

IV

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Moerenhout; No. 2, Duplicata,

Received May 18, 1847; copy sent to Washington, May 26,
1847)

Monterey,
November 22, 1846

Monsieur le Ministre:

In the letter that I had the honor of addressing to Your Excellency dated the sixth of October last, I said that there was rumor about that there had been a movement against the American authorities in the city of Los Angeles. This news has since been confirmed and the affair has been much more serious than was expected in the beginning. But although it has brought about a general uprising in the country, it appears that the first movement at Los Angeles had no other cause than the imprudent and cruel conduct of the American commander, Gillespie, toward the inhabitants of the city of Los Angeles; and what especially excited the disturbance in that city was the imprisonment of a young Californian named Rico,¹ who, suspected of having given refuge to a prisoner of war who had escaped, was thrown into prison, although seriously ill, and, since he was confined so secretly that neither his parents nor even his wife could visit him, it was rumored that he had died in prison and that he had been killed. On this suspicion all the inhabitants armed themselves and left the city. In a few days their force amounted to five or six hundred men, and it was then that a Mexican officer named Flores placed himself at the head of the movement and returned to the city crying, "Long live General Urrea!" for it was rumored that this Mexican general was coming from Sonora with Mexican troops to aid the Californians.

The Americans, then numbering about fifty, were obliged to enclose themselves in their intrenchments. But the Californians having procured a cannon which they had concealed from the Americans after the retreat of General Castro, the American commander Gillespie was obliged to capitulate.² The conditions were very favorable; they permitted him to retire with his men and with arms and baggage. However, he was required to leave his artillery and ammunition one league from

5. For an account of the magnificent ride of this courier, "Juan Flaco," or "lean" John Brown, see Colton, Walter, *Three Years in California*, N. Y., 1850, pp. 64-65.

1. Concerning Francisco Rico, see Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 307; 332-33. Rico says that he was imprisoned for thirty days because he could tell nothing of the whereabouts and intentions of Ramon Carrillo. *Ibid.*, V, 307 note, quoting from Francisco Rico, "Memorias Historicas," 25-26, MS in Bancroft Library.

2. An account of Gillespie and his capitulation is given in *ibid.*, V, 305-15. See also Gasquet's account in Part I, Doc. XXX, *supra*.

the port of San Pedro. If one must believe the reports in circulation, he abused the confidence that had been put in his word, being accused of having spiked his guns before abandoning them.³

Gillespie and his men had hardly embarked on a merchant vessel at San Pedro when the frigate *Savannah* came into view of the port. Gillespie, who went aboard, proposed to the commander to make a landing, and indeed the same day Captain Mervine with three hundred men from the frigate and the fifty riflemen, commanded by Gillespie, disembarked at San Pedro; but they were repulsed with a loss of five men killed and seven wounded, according to their own report. A few days after, the Californians attacked the town of Santa Barbara, and the American commander, Talbot, was obliged to flee during the night. This officer and some of the soldiers arrived at Monterey after a month's painful traveling; others were taken prisoners.⁴

These successes soon gave to this movement a character which it did not have in the beginning; and it was imparted with an extraordinary rapidity from one extremity of the country to the other. However in Monterey and San Francisco in the north the inhabitants did not rise in mass; but many have left to join the rebels in the south. From the seventh to the fourteenth of October, there was great uneasiness even at Monterey. The streets were barricaded and an attack was momentarily expected from a group which had assembled seven or eight leagues from the city, and which daily grew in numbers; but fortunately for the little garrison, about forty men strong, and perhaps also for some residents, the frigate *Congress* entered this port on the fourteenth and Commodore Stockton immediately landed sixty men. With this force divided between barracks and a little fort where there are a block house and some cannon, the city finds itself sheltered against a blow from those who seemed to be gathering close by to make an attack. On the sixteenth the frigate *Congress* left this port to return to San Pedro, the port nearest the city of Los Angeles.⁵

While the frigate *Congress* was at Monterey, the Commodore told me that an officer [named] Fremont had left with a troop of riflemen, and that he supposed that within two or three days he would receive the news that the city of Los Angeles had been retaken; and as the same thing had been told to many persons, they were not a little astonished when on the twenty-fourth, a small vessel arrived here which announced that the American ship *Sterling* was outside and that M. Fremont and all his riflemen were aboard. On the twenty-seventh the vessel entered the harbor with 180 to 200 men aboard, and we soon learned that these troops had attempted to land at one of the southern ports but had been repulsed.⁶

3. Bancroft, *ibid.*, V, 315, 316, speaks of the spiking of the guns.

4. An account of Mervine's defeat is to be found in *ibid.*, V, 318-20, and of the events at Santa Barbara on pp. 316-17.

5. Stockton left Monterey on the *Congress* on Oct. 19, arriving at San Pedro on the 23d.

6. Frémont's movements are detailed in *ibid.*, V, 304-5; 357-58, and in many biographies, e. g., Nevins, *Fremont*; Goodwin, *John Charles Fremont*, and in Frémont's *Memoirs*. See also Stockton's report to Mason, Washington, Feb. 18, 1848, *30th Cong., 2 Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 1*, pp. 1037-54 (Serial 537).

From the day after receiving the news that M. Fremont was aboard the *Sterling*, the Americans began to take horses and saddles from the people of the country and even from foreign residents at Monterey and environs. The same orders have since been given at San Francisco and surrounding towns with the object of forming a mounted force with the riflemen of M. Fremont. By this means they assembled in a few days two to three hundred horses, and on October twenty-eighth about sixty riflemen, fairly well mounted, left Monterey to go to the nearby farms to raise the remaining horses and saddles.⁷

This severe measure, which left the country people, those who had remained peaceful, absolutely without resources, and exposes them to the loss of their crops and cattle, has occasioned general discontent, and the reaction will only become stronger wherever the Californians have the upper hand. Already the rebels, seeing that the Americans took horses even from the people who had remained with them, seem to wish to forestall them [by seizing] the horses which still remain. At the beginning of this month some armed men came in the middle of the day, to seize all the horses which still remained at the mission of San Carlos, one league from Monterey. They informed the owners that they did not need any horses, but that they were taking them in order to prevent the Americans from taking possession of them. Since then, they have also forced all the men from the farms in the environs of Monterey and along the route from San Francisco, capable of carrying arms, to follow them, whether they will or not, and to march with them into a battle which took place the sixteenth of this month seven leagues from Monterey,⁸ so that the two factions, although professing the best feeling for the unfortunate inhabitants who wished to remain peaceful and to continue their work on their farms, are almost equally detrimental to them. Nevertheless, the people blame and are discontented only with the Americans; for they consider them the cause of all these violences and of all these misfortunes which they are suffering, and also because the arbitrary and harsh measures that have just been taken regarding them are carried out by government agents with threats, vexations and oftentimes even with violence. Moreover, a great number of common people and farmers who still had their horses and saddles, but [were] certain of losing them if they should remain in their homes, have abandoned their farms in order to join their revolting compatriots; likewise nearly all the women are coming to Monterey; so as not to remain exposed to the insults which have even been pushed to the most criminal excess in some cases.

Such a general movement has rendered the Californian faction quite numerous and it is suspected that there are not less than fifteen hundred men in the environs of Santa Barbara and of the city of Los Angeles; but these troops are without commanders to lead them, and although good marksmen they entirely lack arms and ammunition, or, armed with spears and swords, they have absolutely nothing in their favor except their extreme dexterity on horseback. The Americans, on the

7. Concerning recruiting and the California Battalion, see Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California* (New York, 1849), 346 et seq., and Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 358-59; 363.

8. Concerning this fight, see *ibid.*, V, 363-72; and Bryant, *op. cit.*, 360-64.

contrary, have, in addition to the six warships which command the ports and the coast, sailors whom they can land, some field artillery pieces, some volunteers and two hundred to two hundred and fifty disciplined men, called "riflemen," used to fatigue, knowing the country well, and commanded by capable and brave officers. To this force the Americans have the cruelty to add also a troop of Indians from Oregon known by the name of Walawala,⁹ very brave, but capable of committing the most atrocious acts. In spite of their number, the people of the country thus have everything to fear, and the only thing which might prevent their discomfiture and their destruction is that winter is coming, that the southern ports will become dangerous and that, if the rains begin promptly and are abundant, all expeditions into the interior will become almost impossible and would not be without danger for a small troop, badly mounted and which could not have with it all the provisions necessary during its march, especially if it were detained in the interior by bad weather and rising waters.

That the Americans do not look upon this state of things with indifference and as lacking in danger for them is seen by the ardor expressed in this regard in a newspaper edited by the chaplain of the frigate *Congress*,¹⁰ but who now exercises the functions of magistrate at Monterey. In the issue for October twenty-fourth (it is published only once a week), after having announced that Captain Gillespie had been obliged to capitulate at the city of Los Angeles, that the troops under the command of Captain Mervine of the frigate *Savannah* had been repulsed at San Pedro, and that Lieutenant Talbot and his men had been taken prisoners at Santa Barbara, he expresses himself as follows:

Tout américain qui peut se produire une carabine (rifle) et un cheval doit marcher ou s'attendre à être chassé jusqu'au delà des montagnes ou à être massacré; car les Californiens sont déterminés à se battre et, comme ils croient qu'ils seront tués, si pris prisonniers, ils sont déterminés à vaincre ou à mourir. Castro est attendu d'un moment à l'autre de Sonora, avec quatre cents hommes ce qui, joint à leur nombre actuel, fera une force d'environ quinze cents hommes de cavalerie, tous bien montés.

Indeed, on the sixteenth of this month, at seven leagues to the north of this port the Californian force which has worried Monterey for a long time, attacked a party

9. See in this connection, Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 289; 300-2.

10. This refers to Rev. Walter Colton, who together with Robert Semple founded the first newspaper in California at Monterey, issuing the first number of the *Californian* on August 15. The issue of October 24 is No. 11. The complete account contained in that issue of the *Californian* is as follows:

"NEWS FROM THE WAR

"The Vandalia has just arrived from the seat of war, bringing news of the defeat of Capt. Mervine, with a party of 329 men, by a party of Californians, commanded by Flores. Capt. Gillespie capitulate[d] at Pueblo des Angeles and secured his retreat to San Pedro, where he had embarked his troops on board the Vandalia, but joined Capt. Mervine, and was with him at the time of the defeat, five Americans were killed and seven wounded. Santa Barbara is taken and Lieut. Talbot and his party are certainly prisoners.

"Every American who can get a rifle and a horse ought to turn out, or expect to be driven to the mountains, or massacred [sic], for the Californians has [sic] determined to fight, almost every man has turned out, they say they will be killed if taken, and they are determined to conquer or die. Castro is hourly expected from Sonora, with four hundred men, which added to their present force will make about fifteen hundred men, and all well mounted."

The file of the Monterey *Californian* from which this was taken is in the State Library at Sacramento. The text of Moerenhout's French translation from the newspaper is here reproduced in French, for comparison with the original passage in the *Californian*.

of from 60 to 70 riflemen and Walewale [Walla Walla] Indians and killed ten of their men, among others two captains named Burrou and Foster,¹¹ and wounded a great number of them. This attack was all the more audacious because it was in the middle of the day and the numbers were almost equal, and because the Californians had only their lances, and again, because the American party was almost entirely composed of riflemen, who have acquired a fearful reputation for themselves in this country. The Californians had three men killed and four or five wounded.

I ought also to make known to Your Excellency that the French ships which put into the ports of California and the French residents in the country, are considerably inconvenienced by these difficulties and that the interests of both are suffering considerably from them. For some time the Americans have been enlisting sailors for their battleships and volunteers for their land troops. Moreover, the authorities, far from hindering desertion seem to be encouraging it to such a point that a French ship now in this port, the *Ferdinand*, from Havre, lost half of her crew by desertion during her stay at San Francisco, and, despite my protests and Commodore Stockton's promises, only two men have been returned to her and those because they were both entirely useless for either of the objects for which they would have liked to have recruited them.¹² As for the French residents, there is, on the part of some American authorities, such an unfriendly disposition

11. Captain Burroughs and George Foster, who was often called Captain. See Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 363-72. An account of this battle is given in the *California Star*, Aug. 21, 1847, under the heading, "The Affair of the Salinaeus." The engagement was also known as "the battle of Natividad."

12. In Commodore Stockton's letter book (Templeton Crocker collection) are the following letters:
U. S. Frigate Congress
Bay of Monterey
October 19, 1846

Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter in relation to the deserters from a French Whale Ship at Sau Solito.

Every exertion in the power of the Government will be made to recover them; and the best means adopted to prevent such occurrences for the future.

I have the honor to be with great consideration,
Yr obdt Servt
R. F. STOCKTON
Commodore &c

To/
J. L. Morinhout.
The French Consul -
at Monterey -

U. S. Frigate Congress
Bay of Monterey
October 19th 1846

Sir,
I enclose to you a letter from the French Consul, which you will please to consider; and devise the best means to apprehend the deserters, and to prevent such occurrences for the future.

I have landed men and artillery enough to defend the Town against any force, and have put other things in order.

I will leave the first wind for San Pedro

Faithfully
Yr obdt Servt
R. F. STOCKTON
Commodore &c.

To
Commander
J. B. Montgomery
U. S. Ship Portsmouth
Harbor of San Francisco

toward them that they are truly exposed to suffering considerable losses, and so much the more so since my complaints in their favor are badly received by these same authorities, who, despite my desire to maintain good relations, seem disposed not only to pay no attention to my complaints, but even to observe no propriety toward me. To convince Your Excellency, I will describe an incident which has just occurred.

A Frenchman named Panaud, an industrious and peaceful man, a tanner by profession; but who also devotes himself to commerce in the products of the country, had requested and obtained from the military commander of Monterey a permit to go to San José, to look after some flour and other cereals of a value of two or three thousand *piastres* which he would lose if he could not go to seek them immediately. At the moment of his departure, and after having sent a wagon with merchandise valued at fifteen hundred or two thousand *piastres*, his permit was recalled by order of Colonel Fremont, military commander of California, under the pretext that he had two pistols in his possession (*chez lui*). I immediately spoke to the military commander of Monterey, who had the pistols returned to M. Panaud; but he informed me that he had sent my letter to Colonel Fremont and that it was the latter who should answer me. He also sent M. Panaud there for the permit that had been taken from him. The Lieutenant-Colonel said to the latter that they would give him neither a permit nor a receipt for the horses that they had taken from him, and he accompanied this refusal with the rudest and most insulting words toward the French Consul.

I have waited three days for a response, but not receiving any I again appealed to M. Maddox, military commander of Monterey, to remit to him [Panaud] a copy of an invoice of all M. Panaud's merchandise which was on the way from San José and from Santa Cruz and was exposed to theft or loss. But since Captain Maddox does not understand French, I thought that this time and in this particular case I ought to write him in English. To this letter M. Fremont replied; but your Excellency will, no doubt, be astonished that, using the pretext that I was apparently trying to be troublesome, he proposed to me that I leave Monterey in order to go and establish myself at San Francisco, and carried his impertinence to the point of sending me a permit to go there and gave so much publicity to this proceeding that everyone recognized [in it] an insolent bluster [undertaken] in order to show to the people of what little value were a Consul of France and his demands. I felt obliged to reply; but M. Fremont after having kept my letter for more than an hour returned it to me unopened. Enclosed I have the honor of remitting to Your Excellency copies of these various documents.

The same day that he sent me his letter, he called M. Panaud before the civil judge and several officers, and after having greatly intimidated him, especially on account of a slight error in the [his] account, he made him sign a written agreement by [which] he renounced all demands for indemnity.¹³ On this condition

13. The Monterey correspondent of the *New York Journal of Commerce* gives the American version of the Panaud incident, as follows. (The clipping in the Templeton Crocker collection is dated in pencil, "?July 21, 1847.") "*Nov. 10.*—The French Consul, Mr. Moerenhout, was this day ordered by Col. Fremont to leave the

they gave him a permit to take himself and his servants to San José and Santa Cruz to transact his business, and a receipt for the horses that they had taken from him. Panaud, who had only yielded on account of fear in signing these agreements, believed it wise not to go himself to Santa Cruz. He sent a man named Dague there, and indeed this man has just been treated in a manner as barbarous as it was unjust, according to the testimony of a witness, and which is as follows:

On the sixteenth, finding himself with another Frenchman near the place where the combat occurred between the Californians and Fremont's men, he was arrested by order of the latter on the eighteenth. M. Fremont even brought him before a kind of court martial of officers of riflemen, and there under the pretext of spying, although the permit which he was carrying made known the object of his trip and the cause for his being found on the sixteenth near the place of combat, the council condemned this unfortunate person to 26 cudgel blows (*coups de baton*). This sentence was executed on the twentieth, but as the blows were given with a brutal force, the unhappy young man fainted at the eighteenth blow. Colonel Fremont then let him loose and said to him that it was not he who had condemned him but that he had to have the laws enforced, thus adding falsity and derision to his barbarous act which is only a private vengeance against Panaud and the expression of the hatred which he seems to have vowed against the French. Dague was put in prison upon his arrival at Monterey.

Other Frenchmen are treated in the same manner and all suffer more or less from these arbitrary acts which M. Fremont has carried out with a violence which goes to the extent of brutality. For several days the prisons have been filled with the most respectable people of the country, whom they [the Americans] have arrested under it does not matter what pretext, and whom they leave in prison without the least examination of their case and more often without telling them why they have been arrested. The French are afraid of being treated in the same manner and often themselves pledge me not to protest in their favor. Thus, if this

town, for having attempted to uphold a false claim, made by one of his countrymen on the American government.

"It appears that a Frenchman residing in Monterey by the name of Clement Panaud, had by some means obtained a passport to go to the town of San Jose, where he had some property which he was going to bring into Monterey,—and an order had been issued by the Military Commandant of this place prohibiting any person whatever from carrying arms, unless he was in the service of the United States. As Panaud was seen by a party of Americans with a pair of pistols, he was arrested, his pistols taken from him, and his horses and saddles were likewise taken possession of by the American party. Panaud came into Monterey and made his complaint to the French Consul, and, as is supposed, was persuaded by that gentleman to bring in a claim against the American government to an extraordinary amount; it appears, however, that the French Consul made no inquiry into the justice or injustice of Panaud's claim, but immediately wrote an official letter to Capt. W. A. T. Maddox, commandant of the middle department of California, demanding immediate satisfaction. At eleven o'clock this morning, Panaud was called before the civil Magistrate, Walter Colton, Esq., and, on the claim which had been handed in by the French Consul being shown to him, and being asked if that was his claim against the American government, he said yes, it was. He was then desired to swear to the truth of his statement of the property lost. He asked leave to go out of the court for a quarter of an hour, that he might compare the account with his books. He was told that he might send for his book, or anything else that he might require to make good his claim, and prove the legality of it. After vacillating a few minutes, he said he would abandon the whole claim made by the French Consul in his behalf. On being asked if he wished to do so voluntarily, and without any compulsion, he said he did. He accordingly gave a certificate to the magistrate to that effect.

"The truth is, he found himself unexpectedly in a bad scrape, and saw at once the impossibility of making his claim good. He had put down in his account 300 arrobas of tallow, at \$5 per arropa, when it is not worth more than \$1.50 cents, all over California; and everything else in the same proportion. The amount of his claim was nearly \$7,000."

must continue for a long time, my position in this country will be far from agreeable. It is unfortunate, I believe, Monsieur le Ministre, that in such critical moments there is no French warship here, the presence of which would always prevent actions of such frightful injustice and this lack of all regard and all decency which they seem to wish to affect toward the agents of the French Government.

Enclosed I have the honor of remitting to Your Excellency all the documents relative to the case of Panaud and Dague.¹⁴

I have the honor of being, Monsieur le Ministre, with the deepest respect,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

The Consul of France

J. A. MOERENHOUT¹⁵

[TO BE CONTINUED]

14. No enclosures were found with this letter, but all the enclosures referred to are found in the archives of the Department of State at Washington:

Pageot to Buchanan, Legation of France in the United States, Warm Springs, Virginia, June 28, 1847, and enclosures as follows:

Moerenhout to Fremont, Monterey, Nov. 8, 1846.

Maddox to Moerenhout, Nov. 4 and Nov. 8, 1846.

Fremont to Moerenhout, Monterey, Nov. 7, 1846.

Moerenhout to Maddox, Nov. 4 and Nov. 7, 1846.

Proces Verbal of Dague, Monterey, Nov. 23, 1846.

15. In a letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to Moerenhout, dated November 9, 1846 (Box Monterey, Direction Commerciale No. 3) the receipt of Gasquet's resignation is acknowledged and it is declared that his request for ten thousand francs to enable him to return to France cannot be granted to an agent who has thus voluntarily quit his post. Moerenhout is, however, instructed to advise Gasquet of some means of returning to France in a vessel of the Royal navy. As for the vacant "*Chancellerie*" of the consulate, unless a person capable of fulfilling that office can be found, Moerenhout is to limit himself to his duties as consul and to advise the Minister in respect to his action. The vacant position was not, in fact, filled, and Moerenhout on several occasions performed its duties. As has already been seen, Gasquet, on his part, was in the end accorded sufficient means to enable him to go to Mexico on a merchant vessel and thereafter return to France.

NEW HAVEN AND THE TWO ALVARADOS

EARLY TOWNS OF ALAMEDA COUNTY

ON the banks of the navigable Alameda River, at suitable embarcaderos for Mission San José and the back country, arose in the early '50's the towns of Union City, New Haven and Alvarado. The exact location of New Haven and Alvarado, the first county seat and first seat of justice of Alameda County, has never been determined. Bancroft,¹ Baker,² and the *History of Washington Township*³ state only that Alvarado was first called New Haven.

J. M. Horner, in 1850, purchased from A. Alviso 110 acres of land lying between the turns of the river and having as its southern line what later became the boundary between the three towns.⁴ At once he built a warehouse at the "Devil's Elbow" and plotted a town site covering the whole of his purchase;⁵ the first lots being sold on September 9, 1850.⁶ The town of Union City was a success: it drew the trade of Mission San José from the more southerly sloughs and also provided a more direct outlet for the area east of the hills.

On December 27, 1850, Henry C. Smith, a Connecticut Yankee who had come west with Frémont, bought 465 acres from A. Alviso and T. Pacheco, part of Horner's southern line forming part of his western boundary.⁷ At once a surveyor set to work laying out a town at the upper embarcadero just across the boundary line from Horner's Union City,⁸ and with street and block arrangement corresponding with the older town.⁹ The first lots were sold March 18, 1851.¹⁰ In this new town, which was called New Haven, Smith built a store, and no doubt lived in it until his frame house was erected in 1852, for on August 18, 1851, the Santa Clara County Supervisors authorized a voting precinct for New Haven at his home.¹¹ His two-story building was on Block 81, on the site of the present gas station, opposite the present Alvarado Hotel and diagonally opposite the present bank.

These communities became rivals of San Francisco. In this neighborhood, grain, vegetable and fruit ranching were proven feasible in California for Ameri-

1. *History of California*, VI, 526.

2. *History of Alameda County*, I, 448.

3. 1904.

4. The deed was filed on July 15, 1850. Oakland, Recorder, Deeds, A, 36; N, 227; San Jose, Recorder, Deeds, A, 263.

5. San Jose, Recorder, Deeds, B, 259; C, 138.

6. *Ibid.*, C, 134, 135, 149, 173, 272, 306; Oakland, Recorder, Deeds, A, 36, 65. The original plat was never recorded or preserved, but has been continued on later plats.

7. San Jose, Recorder, Deeds, C, 296.

8. Oakland Recorder, Deeds, J, 243. The survey was made by a Mr. Tillchson. Smith left about January 1, 1851, for New York and did not return until about August 1 of the same year. While in the East he ordered lumber for his house, which he built in 1852. It is still standing at the head of Vallejo Street, Alvarado. (His daughter, Miss Emma C. Smith, now lives at 5407 Dover Street, Oakland.)

9. The plat was never recorded, although it was so referred to in many of the deeds. A succeeding survey made by George Black and dated Nov. 8, 1853, was recorded in Oakland in 1860. Recorder, Maps, XVII, 54.

10. Oakland, Recorder, Deeds, A, 433.

11. San Jose, Minutes, A, 26, 28.

cans; flour and sugar factories were later erected, and people and investors were even attracted from San Francisco.¹² Roads were built from Mission San José, and eventually, in 1856, they were extended to Oakland.

Union City and New Haven were so successful that two San Francisco lawyers, Strode and Jones,¹³ bought 750 acres from A. Alviso on September 30, 1852,¹⁴ part of Horner's southern line forming part of their northern boundary, and a new town was planned that winter. By the beginning of the new year the survey was made and the new town was called Alvarado, for General Juan Bautista Alvarado. It was, of course, before March 15, for on that date Henry C. Smith introduced his bill in the State Legislature, then meeting at Benicia, creating the new county of Alameda from parts of Contra Costa and Santa Clara counties and designating New Haven as the county seat and Alvarado as the seat of justice.¹⁵ The earliest known map is dated April, 1853,¹⁶ and another early one is dated in May of the same year.¹⁷ Both surveys were made by William J. Lewis, surveyor of Santa Clara County. The former survey shows Union City and New Haven with their streets and block arrangement continued into the new town; the latter map shows Alvarado only. The first sale of lots was on September 20, 1853.¹⁸

In March and part of April, 1853, there were three towns. The new county officials met in the upper story of Smith's store on Block 81 in New Haven; but the first minutes of their meeting are dated April 11, 1853, in Alvarado.¹⁹ By this date, then, New Haven had discarded its old name and taken that of the neighboring town without taking the town itself. The reason can only be conjectured: it may have been because of the proximity of Smith's store to Alvarado and because of there being no suitable place of meeting for the seat of justice in the newer town, a compromise therefore being effected by exchanging the meeting place in New Haven for the name of their town.

The new name for New Haven began to appear in the surveyors' notes on August 29, 1853,²⁰ and in the deeds on October 3 of that year, as "Alvarado, formerly New Haven," and continued in this double designation into the '60's.²¹ On November 28, 1853, the owner of the now nameless town (Alvarado) sold 50 acres containing it,²² and from 1858 to 1863 its area by popular consent became part of Union City.²³ Before 1860 all three town owners had disposed of their

12. Charles Nourt, of Alvarado, who came there in the early '50's, tells of one family selling the sand lots on which the Mills Building now stands and investing in Alvarado.

13. Jones was the father of William Carey Jones, long Dean of the School of Jurisprudence at the University of California.

14. San Jose, Recorder, Deeds, E, 233.

15. *Statutes*, 1853, 56-59; approved March 25, 1853. Jones was politically important in the State; perhaps the naming of his town as the seat of justice was a compromise for his support in the Legislature.

16. U. S. District Court, No. 119 N. D.

17. San Jose, Engineer's Office, Book A.

18. Oakland, Recorder, Deeds, A, 463, 571, 575; Third District Court, No. 197.

19. Oakland, Clerk's Office, Minutes, I, 1.

20. Oakland, Clerk's Office, Road notes.

21. Oakland, Recorder, Deeds, A, 434, 435, 436, 453, 469, 574; J, 243; L, 497; N, 114, 227; O, 484, 556.

22. *Ibid.*, B, 20.

23. *Ibid.*, H, 527; L, 497; N, 114; O, 125; Q, 790, 792. By popular consent the eastern end of old Alvarado has become part of the present Alvarado.

property and the towns were left by them to their own fate. The line between Union City and the new Alvarado continued to be the eastern Horner line, continued south along Smith's western line; the centers of the two towns always remained around the two embarcaderos as they do today.²⁴

J. N. BOWMAN.

24. Accompanying this article Mr. Bowman has included a tracing of a map of the three towns on a uniform scale, made by the early pioneer surveyor, W. F. Boardman, and found in the office of his son, of Beugler and Boardman of Oakland. The Boardman map gives the street locations for all three towns and the street designations for Union City-first Alvarado only. Mr. Bowman has added the street names of New Haven-second Alvarado from the Black map, and the block numbers and designations at the embarcaderos, and has placed the composite map on file with the California Historical Society.

NOTICE

THE TOPOGRAPHICAL REPORTS OF LIEUTENANT GEORGE H. DERBY

EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR

This "Special Publication" will consist of Lieutenant Derby's reports on the Sacramento and Tulares valleys and on the Colorado River, as published in this *Quarterly* (Vol. XI, Nos. 2, 3 and 4), *together with additional material prepared by Mr. Farquhar from reports and letters dealing with Derby's survey and operations in turning the course of the San Diego River, and his activities in constructing the military road along the Columbia River.* Most of this additional material has never before been printed in any form. These important early reports will thus be made available in a single publication, after having been buried for three-quarters of a century in rare reports of the War Department or in the manuscript files of that Department. The Publication Committee is gratified to be able to bring these remarkable and important documents to the attention of scholars. Reproductions of the maps with which Derby illustrated his reports will be included.

One hundred and fifty copies of this "Special Publication" have been printed. The price will be \$2.50 a copy, unbound, and \$3.00 a copy, bound.

THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE DIARY OF PHILIP LEGET EDWARDS: *The Great Cattle Drive from California to Oregon in 1837*. [With an introduction by Douglas S. Watson.] San Francisco, 1932. (vi) + 47 pp., frontispiece.

CALIFORNIA IN 1851: *The Letters of Dame Shirley* [Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe]. [Reprinted from *The Pioneer Magazine*, San Francisco, January, 1854, to December, 1855.] Introduction and notes by Carl I. Wheat. San Francisco, 1933. Vol. I, xviii + 142 + (vi) pp.; Vol. II, xviii + 143 + (vi) pp.; illust.

NARRATIVE OF NICHOLAS "CHEYENNE" DAWSON (*Overland to California in '41 & '49, and Texas in '51*). [With an introduction by Charles L. Camp and colored drawings by Arvilla Parker.] San Francisco, 1933. (ix) + 100 + (vi) pp.

The Grabhorn Press, continuing its series of reprints of rare Americana, has, since our last review, published these valuable California items which raise the curtain once again on colorful tableaux in the pageant of western empire.

The first is a significant forecast of developments to come. The pioneer settlers in Oregon had found great tracts of rich land waiting to be turned to the use of man. There, over vast expanses, grass was growing and withering with the seasons, grass which the white men knew could be converted into food, power and wealth, through cattle. But in Oregon in 1836 there was not even seed for the herds that the settlers craved; while in California cattle were being slaughtered by the thousands for their hides and tallow. Between was an unmapped and practically trackless wilderness. To drive a herd of half-wild cattle for five hundred miles, across rivers, through forests and over mountains where the Indians still lived undisturbed, was a task of heroic proportions. Its accomplishment must forever have remained a subject for wonder and legend, in which Ewing Young would have figured as another Paul Bunyan, had not Philip Edwards set down, day by day, his simple chronicle of events, against which the hardships and persistence of the men who successfully completed the "Great Cattle Drive to Oregon" stand out in sharp relief of reality. We can readily agree with Mr. Watson that Edwards' Diary should have "a lasting place in the literature of the American conquest of this continent."

"Cheyenne" Dawson's narrative pictures another heroic expedition and marks another epoch in California history: the first emigration of American settlers to California across the plains. Of this 1841 party were John Bidwell, Josiah Belden, Charles Weber, and the first white woman to cross the Sierra, Nancy Kelsey, "barefooted, with her child in her arms . . . leading her horse." The country beyond Missouri was as trackless then as the Kentucky wilderness had been when Daniel Boone led the first emigrants across the Alleghanies seventy years before. The American conquest of the West, then just beginning, had now reached its last stage. When this party starved and thirsted across the plains, struggled over the Sierra and down into the valley of the San Joaquin, the doom of Spanish California was sealed, a fact which must have been dimly realized by the Californian authorities who put Dawson and his companions in the "calaboose" at San José, then set them free again, not knowing just what to do with these peaceful invaders.

Like others imbued with ideals of Yankee thrift, Dawson was impressed with the Mexicans' apparent waste of good land and good beef, and therein we can see the growth of the American notion, fostered by self-interest, that these people had forfeited their heritage by not using it to advantage. Unlike many of his companions, however, "Cheyenne" did not stay to share in the spoils. He was simply out for adventure, and soon returned to Arkansas by way of Mexico. He tried to settle down, but the call of the gold rush was too strong, and the spring of '49 saw him crossing the plains again. He gives an account of two years of freighting in the Southern Mines and his return and final trek into Texas, but the real importance of the book lies in the account of the expedition of '41, and the commencement of American enterprise in California.

The unaffected quality of the style is such as would inspire confidence even without the assurance which we have on the competent authority of Professor Camp that Dawson's words are "surprisingly accurate." The typography and illustrations well reflect the simplicity and strength of the narrative.

For a tableau of life in the mines we turn to the "Shirley Letters," which give, as the writer promised her correspondent, "a true picture of mining life and its peculiar temptations, nothing extenuating, nor setting down aught in malice." With the gold rush thousands of men of all races and from all walks of life plunged together into the forbidding Sierra Nevada. Their efforts to adapt the scraps of civilization which they brought with them to the building of communal life in their rude surroundings have the interest of Robinson Crusoe multiplied a thousand fold. Many men of culture recorded their impressions of this frantic period, and since it was so fleeting, all such records are precious. But men, viewing their masculine community, naturally took for granted many details, "a thousand minute shreds of the absurd," which are always apparent to a woman's eye when she contemplates a man's crude efforts at housekeeping.

"Dame Shirley," the cultured, witty and intensely feminine wife of the doctor of Rich Bar, was able to see and to preserve with her ready pen, so many "scenes just touched with that fine and almost imperceptible perfume of the ludicrous"—or the pathetic—the significance of which would wholly have escaped an equally intelligent man. Accordingly her charming letters, fortunately preserved in the slender files of "*The Pioneer*," have furnished not only trustworthy data for a Josiah Royce, but inspiration for some of the best-beloved tales of Bret Harte. Interspersed though they are with the stylish feminine sighs and flutterings of the period, they constantly swing back into the major chords of human feelings which make of them true literature.

Mr. Wheat's introduction and "retrospect" throw much new light on this little-known figure of California letters, and his careful and considerably concise notes do a valuable service in proving beyond question the entire accuracy and reliability of Shirley's statements. The delicacy of the typography is perfectly suited to the style of the letters; and the Grabhorns had one of their happiest inspirations in decorating the book with scenes from the rare illustrated blue letter-sheets of the period.

GEORGE EZRA DANE.

NEW SPAIN AND THE ANGLO-AMERICAN WEST: *Historical Contributions Presented to Herbert Eugene Bolton*, Los Angeles, 1932; 2 Vols., xii + 333 pp.; 277 pp., 8vo.

Although the appearance of these volumes was briefly noticed in the last issue of this *Quarterly*, they deserve further mention, not only because of the historical material which they contain, but also because of the man in whose honor they were published. It was the elevation of Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton to the presidency of the American Historical Association which called forth this remarkable effort on the part of a number of his former students, now engaged in academic pursuits in various parts of the country. The editors have appropriately confined themselves to the publication of documentary material, rather than mere essays, and the two volumes cover, respectively, the two main subjects which have engaged Dr. Bolton's attention during his long and distinguished career,—the northward advance of the frontiers of New Spain and the westward movement of Anglo-American pioneers.

Documents in this collection dealing with or shedding light on the development of California include the "Adventures of George Nidever," edited by William H. Ellison; Thomas O. Larkin's "Description of California," edited by Cardinal Goodwin; "Barstow's Recollections" (reminscences of the Gold Rush prepared in 1878 for Hubert Howe Bancroft), edited by Rufus Kay Wylls; "Josiah Gregg in California," (the narrative of L. K. Wood—also recently reprinted by the Society of California Pioneers), edited by Owen C. Coy; and the "Diary Kept by Mrs. Maria A. Belshaw" (while crossing the plains from Lake County, Indiana, to Oregon in 1853), edited by Joseph Ellison. A bibliography of the writings and cartography of Dr. Bolton by Mary Ross is included in the second volume and discloses the great range of his historical interest.

Many of Dr. Bolton's former students have contributed from time to time to this *Quarterly*, and he has himself addressed this Society on more than one occasion. These volumes are a concrete tribute to his scholarship and will unquestionably prove of importance in the slow process of selecting for publication the vital items from among the mass of documents which form our historical background.

CARL I. WHEAT.

WESTERN HISTORY

A CHECK LIST OF RECENT ITEMS RELATING TO CALIFORNIA AND THE WEST*

ASBURY, HERBERT

The Gentle bandit (Black Bart). *The Elks' Magazine*, Jan. 1933, pp. 10-11, 36-37.

BELL, MAJOR HORACE

Reminiscences of a ranger. With a foreword by Arthur M. Ellis. Los Angeles: The Primavera Press, 1933. 500 pp., illust. (A new edition of Bell's story of early times in Southern California, first published in 1881.)

BYINGTON, LEWIS F.

California's romantic history. *Grizzly Bear*, Dec., 1932, to May, 1933.

CARR, HARRY

The West is still wild. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932. 257 pp., illust. by Charles Owens.

CLARK, GEORGE T.

Leland Stanford and H. H. Bancroft's "History": a bibliographical curiosity. *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. 27, pt. 1, 1933. University of Chicago Press.

CONNELLEY, WILLIAM ELSEY

Wild Bill and his era. The life and adventures of James Butler Hickok. New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1933. With an introduction by Charles Moreau Harger. 229 pp., illust.

CULLETON, REV. JAMES

California's first library. *Register*, 1933. (Yearly review of the Monterey-Fresno Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church.)

DEWARD, ROBERT J.

Grass Valley, land of the pioneer. *Grizzly Bear*, May, 1933.

MCCLENDON, R. EARL

Daniel Webster and Mexican relations—the Santa Fe prisoners. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, April, 1933.

MICHELS, ELLA STERLING

"What man hath done, man can do." [Recollections of William Gwin.] *Grizzly Bear*, Jan., 1933.

MILLIKEN, RALPH LE ROY

A Fortified adobe [in Merced County], *Grizzly Bear*, Jan., 1933.

MURRAY, E. F.

Mountain men—George Nidever, as related to E. F. Murray. *Colorado Magazine*, Vol. X, No. 3, May, 1933.

REQUA, MARK L.

Grubstake. A tale of early mining days in Nevada, in 1874. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933. 360 pp.

SANCHEZ, NELLIE VAN DE GRIFT

Anza, founder of San Francisco. *Motor Land*, April, 1933, pp. 7 and 14.

SMITH, MRS. WHITE MOUNTAIN

Indian tribes of the Southwest. Stanford University Press, 1933. v+146 pp., small 8vo. [An account of the Indians of Arizona and New Mexico by the author of *Hopi girl* and *I married a ranger*, with a map showing the principal Indian reservations of those states.]

STOLL, WILLIAM T., and WHICKER, H. W.

Silver strike. The story of silver mining in the Coeur d'Alenes. As told by Stoll to Whicker. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1932. 273 pp.

*Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.—CHARLES L. CAMP.

TERRY, DAVID S.

David Terry's justification. San Francisco *Wasp-News Letter*, May 20, 1933. With a foreword by Charles R. Boden. (First publication of a 14 page manuscript in Judge Terry's hand in which he gives his side of his famous duel with Senator Broderick.)

VAUGHAN, JOSEPH A.

The Kino Trail. *Jesuit Missions*, Feb., 1933, pp. 28-29, 45. [An account of a recent visit to the Arizona Missions founded by Father Francisco Eusebio Kino of the Society of Jesus, called by Dr. Herbert Bolton, "The Padre on horseback."]

WATSON, DOUGLAS S.

The Life of Johann August Sutter. San Jose: The Catholic Women's Club of Santa Clara County. Printed by The Grabhorn Press, San Francisco, 5 pp., 4 to. 200 copies. (This first appeared as the foreword to "The Diary of Johann August Sutter, published in 1932 by The Grabhorn Press and was issued as a souvenir of the club's monthly Campus Day at the University of Santa Clara, May 25, 1933, at which time Mr. Watson spoke on General Sutter.)

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. VIII, No. 2, April, 1933, contains: "When Texas owned New Mexico to the Rio Grande," by F. S. Donnell; "Causes of the Confederate invasion of New Mexico," by Charles S. Walker; "The First Civil Governor of New Mexico under the Stars and Stripes [Charles Bent]," by Paul A. F. Waller; "El Payo de Nuevo-Mejico," by Douglas C. McMurtrie.

OREGON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, March, 1933, contains: "The Lure of the [Columbia] River," by Fred W. Wilson (to be continued); "Chief Cassino," by Omar C. Spencer; "Location of Point Vancouver," by Lewis A. McArthur; "France and the Oregon question," by George Vern Blue; "Fort Reed and Fort Boise," by J. Neilson Barry; "Oregon memorial of 1838," by C. J. Brosnan; "One hundred years ago, 1833," by Nellie B. Pipes.

TOURING TOPICS

Vol. 25, No. 5, April, 1933, contains: "Vischer—Young California's foremost artist," by C. C. Pierce; "Famous California firsts. Premier events, men, things and discoveries in the annals of the Golden State."

WASHINGTON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. XXIV, No. 2, April, 1933, contains: "A Short account of Robert Haswell," by F. W. Howay; "The Walla Walla separation movement," by C. S. Kingston; "The Operations in the Oregon Country of the American Bible Society and of the American Tract Society before the Civil War," by J. Orin Oliphant; Documents: "Foundation of Bellingham."

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

ON Tuesday, March 21, 1933, the Society held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel. Mr. D. Q. Troy spoke on "The Old Cocktail Route."

He described the stopping places on this well-traveled trail as it existed in the 80's and its extensions up town, and toward the Ferry, of later days. While no attempt was made to catalogue the wayfarers on this spirit-scented path, certain well-known characters had to appear in persona to complete the picture. Mr. Troy also described the journey of the downtown toilers of all businesses and professions over the route at the close of the day's work, whether to home and dinner or to some place of evening amusement. The mingling of all walks of life in this progress was characteristically San Franciscan and the natural perpetuation of the spirit and methods of the previous generation. With the building of a new city on the ruins of the old and the advent of the motor car, this dignified procession became one of the cherished memories of the past. There were thirty-two members and guests present.

On Tuesday, April 25, 1933, the Society met for luncheon at the Clift Hotel. Mr. Edward F. O'Day spoke on "Poets and Poetry of San Francisco." No minute of this talk would give any adequate impression to one who did not hear it. It was a comprehensive, sympathetic and careful review of the poetry written in or about San Francisco. To most of us it was a revelation as to the quantity that has been produced. A number of the authors were introduced to the audience and the themes that inspired them were treated. A number of well-chosen examples of verse were interspersed. The audience made its appreciation very evident. There were forty members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

At the luncheon meeting of the Society held May 31, 1933, at the Clift Hotel, Mr. Anson S. Blake spoke on "California Life in the Mines, 1851-52." He read a series of letters written home by his father, Charles T. Blake, giving further experiences of himself and his associates. This was the third of a series of talks by Mr. Blake based on his father's letters, and was as enjoyable to those present as were the previous ones. For concise information as to conditions in the mines and experiences droll and tragic, nothing can equal the story depicted in these letters. The locating and purchasing of claims, the moneys invested and lost (in many cases), the building of flumes, the conduct of the various parties met in the mines, the information concerning the results of intensive work and the general comment on conditions were related with a detail that brought before those present the whole subject in a manner not excelled by any other source, written or printed.

D. Q. TROY.

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

MARCH 1 TO MAY 31, 1933

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Abrams, Albert, *The Blues*, N. Y., 1905; Armer, Laura Adams, *A Navajo sand painting* (autog. reprint from *U. C. Chronicle*, 1925); Blake, Moffitt & Towne, *Pioneers in Paper*, S. F., 1930; Boscana, Geronimo, *Chinigichinich* (revised version of Robinson's trans.), Santa Ana, 1933; Brown, W. E., *Jack and Jill*, S. F., Doxey, 1891; [Clappe, L. A. K. S.,] *California in 1851—the letters of Dame Shirley*, S. F., Grabhorn, 1933 (2 vols.); Dane, Ezra, *The Lucky louse*, S. F., Lawton Kennedy, 1933; Dawson, Nicholas, *Narrative*, S. F., Grabhorn, 1933; Edwards, Philip L., *Diary*, S. F., Grabhorn, 1933; Eichenberg, Eduard, *What the birds did at Hazel's orchard*, S. F., [Nash], 1916; Harris, Henry, *California's medical story*, S. F., [Grabhorn], 1932; Jones, Edward S., *The Sylvan cabin*, S. F., 1915; Lilienthal, Jesse, *Gambler's wife*, Boston & N. Y., 1933; Sexton, Ella May, *California idylls* (autog.), S. F., 1920; Stevenson, R. L., *To his good friend M. Donat*, S. F., [Grabhorn], 1925; Taylor, E. R., *Ode read at the dedication of the San Francisco Public Library building*, 1917, S. F., Taylor & Taylor (autog.); Whitmire, Ethel, *Etched from life* (autog. reprint from *S. F. Examiner*); Wilkie, *Sonnets of the Sierra* (autog.), S. F., 1932.

From L. VERNON BRIGGS, M. D.—*Railroad Gazetteer*, S. F., Jan. 1882, and other railroad and tourist pamphlets.

From DOUBLEDAY, DORAN & CO.—White, Stewart Edward, *Ranchero*, N. Y., 1933.

From HON. FLORENCE P. KAHN—*Acceptance and unveiling of the statues of Junipero Serra and Thomas Starr King*, Washington, 1932.

From A. T. LEONARD, Jr., M. D.—[O'Day, E. F.], *Baywood*, S. F., [Nash], 1927; Smith, P. J., *Soul of Woman*, S. F., 1916.

From MR. THOMAS F. MADIGAN—Madigan, T. F., *Word shadows of the great*, N. Y., 1933.

From MISS ELIZABETH T. PECK—Bingham, Helen, *In Tamal land*, S. F., 1906.

From ROTARY CLUB DE MALLORCA—*Rotary International V Convergencia del Distrito 60*, Palma de Mallorca, 1932.

From MRS. MELVILLE SCHWEITZER—Royce, Sarah, *A Frontier Lady*, New Haven, 1932.

From UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA—Clauder, Anna C., *American Commerce as affected by the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, 1793-1812*, Phila., 1932.

From WASHINGTON BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION—Vols. I and II of Literature series, *History of the George Washington Bicentennial Celebration*, Wash., 1932.

From MRS. FRANCIS WILLIAMS—Christman, Enos, *One man's gold*, N. Y., 1930; Dobie, J. Frank, *Coronado's children*, N. Y., 1931; Morrow, Honoré, *Beyond the blue Sierra*, N. Y., 1932.

From MRS. CHARLES S. WHEELER—*Annual Report of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union*, 1932.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

From L. VERNON BRIGGS, M. D.—*Contra Costa News*, Sept. 3, 1881; *Daily Examiner*, San Francisco, Aug. 15, 1886; part of *Morning Call*, S. F., Aug. 29, 1886; *The Argonaut*, S. F., Aug. 14, 1886.

From MR. JOHN J. BURKE—*South of Market Journal*, January, 1933 (also 3 copies of his poem, "South of the Slot").

From MISS ELEANOR M. DAVENPORT—*Cloverdale Reveille*, Jan. 12, 19, and 26, 1933, containing "Historical Sketch of Pioneer San Francisco" by Mrs. Robert Foster.

From MR. D. Q. TROY—*Grizzly Bear*, pub. by Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West. (Mr. Troy has subscribed to this publication for the Society since 1924.)

From MRS. FRANCIS WILLIAMS—*Picturesque California*, Feb. 15, 1894.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Large framed view of Carmel Mission, drawn by Louis Mullgardt, 1914; photographs of Anne Bremer, Domenico Brescia, Julius Kahn (autog.),

Wm. Keith, Aurelia Henry Reinhardt (autog.), Jacob B. Reinstein; etching, "The Fishing Tug on the Ways," by William H. Wilke.

From MRS. MAE HELENE BACON BOGGS—Photostat (framed) of sketch of Bob Ream's pack train.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Poem by Clark Ashton Smith, "Don Juan Sings," (typed MS, autog.); Poem by George Sterling, "The Furies" (typed MS with corrections in Sterling's handwriting and comments and suggestions in that of Ambrose Bierce, framed); calling card of Mrs. Leland Stanford; quotation from Robert Louis Stevenson, printed on parchment; *An Address by Leland W. Cutler at a dinner to Father Edward J. Whelan, S. J., and Father William J. Lonergan, S. J., San Francisco, 1932*, [Nash].

From MRS. MAE HELENE BACON BOGGS—"Quarter card" (framed) of Oregon Stage Line, July, 1866.

From L. VERNON BRIGGS, M. D.—Program of Baldwin Theatre, Aug. 9, 1886, newspaper clippings, etc.

From MR. F. M. DE WITT—Announcement of the marriage of Luisa Vallejo and Ricardo de Emparan, Aug. 23, 1882; invitation to the "Grand Ball for the Benefit of the Wounded Soldiers," Lincoln, Placer County, Sept. 18, 1863.

From A. T. LEONARD, Jr., M. D.—Two photographs of Abbie Carrington, opera singer; circular of Pike's Opera House containing press notices of Abbie Carrington, 1880; circular of press notices of Madame Carrington-Lewys.

From MR. M. HALL McALLISTER—Diploma of College of St. Augustine, Benicia, June, 1879 (framed).

From MR. CARL I. WHEAT—MS of a lecture by "Dame Shirley," on "The Ideal in Art," and another specimen of her handwriting.

LOANS

From MRS. MAE HELENE BACON BOGGS—Ten receipts of or relating to the Oregon Stage Company, 1866-67, in a large frame.

From MISS JESSIE EDWARDS—Oil painting of the old "Quartel" at Monterey.

From INA COOLBRITH CIRCLE—Books (book case of six sections), mostly by California writers.

From MRS. GERTRUDE BOYLE KANNO—Bust of Mrs. Susan Mills.

From A. T. LEONARD, Jr., M. D.—An "Oregon boot"; colored lithograph by Currier & Ives, "Burning of the Steamship Golden Gate."

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Berkeley Parlor No. 210, Native Sons of the Golden West	Berkeley, Calif.	Miss Dorothy Huggins
Creed, Mrs. Wigginton E.	Piedmont, Calif.	Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee
Fletcher, Col. Ed.	San Diego	Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee
Grass Valley Public Library	Grass Valley	Mr. James D. Stewart
Kennedy, Lawton	San Francisco	Mr. Carl I. Wheat
McDonald, Juillard	San Francisco	Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee
McKeon, Rev. Thomas J.	Calistoga, Calif.	Mr. Carl I. Wheat
Rothchild, Walter	San Francisco	Mrs. Alfred Swinerton

IN MEMORIAM

LUKE FAY

On May 2, Luke Fay, a member of this Society, answered the last call in the city of his birth. He was a son of former Senator John Fay, a pioneer merchant of this city and a man prominent in the political life of California, a member of the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco and of the State Senate, whose unswerving fidelity to right and justice in these positions earned him the name of "Honest John Fay." His son Luke, born on February 28, 1861, inherited the sterling qualities of his father and was for years prominent in political activities in this city, particularly in the North Beach section. As a boy he attended old Saint Ignatius School on Market Street (where the Emporium now stands), walking the length of Powell Street night and morning. Later he attended Saint Mary's College on the Mission Road. In the early '80's he entered the insurance business, and was cashier of the Western Insurance Company. He never held political office, although he did once become a candidate for the Legislature, not because he desired the office but, as he said, because no other Democrat in the district (the old 45th) would enter the fight against political bossism. Always active in civic affairs, he fought both Republican and Democratic bosses, and in 1909 was a member of the Grand Jury. His discussion with the celebrated fire-eater, George A. Knight, at that time was the cause of much entertainment for the citizens, and Knight was compelled to confess defeat.

Mr. Fay was a member of the Native Sons of the Golden West and the Elks, and was an unremitting collector of Californiana, being especially interested in the history of the city of his birth and her people. He was an authority on the early bandits and was continually consulted regarding the exploits of Joaquin Murieta, Vasquez, Black Bart and other banditti. His newspaper clippings covered every phase of early San Francisco history, and his collection of material concerning its Police Department and criminal trials was not equalled in any newspaper office in the city. His library was the meeting place of many students and collectors of California history. Mr. Fay is survived by his wife, the former Eugenie Gariaud, a member of a pioneer French family of San Jose, whom he married in July, 1903; his daughter, Mary, the wife of Lieutenant Paul D. Berrigan, U. S. A.; and his only brother, John. He was a cousin of that well-known Californian, Brother Leo of Saint Mary's College. All in all Luke Fay was one of the "landmarks" of San Francisco, quiet, unostentatious and a sterling citizen, and a host of friends mourn his loss. His death terminates a personal friendship of fifty years.

D. Q. TROY.

WILLIAM JEFFERSON HUNSAKER

William J. Hunsaker was born near Lafayette, Contra Costa County, September 21, 1855, the son and grandson of pioneers of 1847, his grandfather, Daniel Hunsaker, having come to California overland from Missouri in that year, settling first at New Helvetia, and then in Contra Costa County with his family, where he

was Treasurer of the county, and where three of his sons filled the office of sheriff at various times. He was also related to the celebrated pioneer, Lansford W. Hastings. William Hunsaker received his education at San Diego. There he studied law, was admitted to the Bar in 1876, and practiced until 1879, when he moved to Arizona. After practicing in Tombstone in 1880 and 1881, he returned to San Diego and was elected District Attorney of the county, serving in 1883 and 1884. He was married in 1879 to Florence Virginia McFarland, who died in 1922. They had one son and three daughters.

In 1892 Mr. Hunsaker moved to Los Angeles where he practiced continuously from that time until his sudden death from a heart attack on January 13, 1933. For eight years of this time he was attorney for the Santa Fe Railway. He was president of the Los Angeles Bar Association in 1904 and president of the California Bar Association in 1913, and was often spoken of as the dean of his profession, having the respect and admiration of everyone with whom he associated. The public of California will never realize the extent of his influence in keeping the Bar on a high plane of ethics. Memorial services were held for him in the Superior Court of Los Angeles on February 14, when the judges of all departments sat *en banc* during the ceremonies, and in the Federal Court on February 18 where tribute was paid by all the United States District Judges.

He was an ardent lover of his native State, and a life member of Ramona Parlor, Native Sons of the Golden West, being looked upon as an authority on State and local history. His loss will be a keen one to all those interested in historical research.

J. GREGG LAYNE.

GEORGE TOURNY

George Tourny, who passed away on March 21, was a shining example of the distance a man can go who combines capacity with honesty and a willingness to work. Mr. Tourny was born in Germany and came to San Francisco in 1876, when he was about fourteen years old. He first lived with the late Lawrence Gottig, who was then President of the German Savings & Loan Society. Upon arrival here, Tourny enrolled in the first grade of the Mission Grammar School, and later entered the employ of the now San Francisco Bank, then called the German Savings & Loan Society, and familiarly spoken of as "The German Bank." Over a long term of years he rose from a minor position to be Vice President and finally President of the bank, which office he filled at the time of his death. He was for some years Treasurer of the University of California, and at various times filled civic offices of distinction, without compensation, but I believe was never employed by any firm or corporation other than his beloved bank. He was a member of many clubs and societies.

Mr. Tourny had a fine sense of duty, was a loyal friend and a valuable citizen. His death is a great loss to the community.

The writer knew him from the time he first arrived in California, was a student in the same school, and maintained cordial, friendly relations with him to the end.

C. O. G. MILLER.